MANUAL OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE

BY

PIERRE PARIS



ENGLISH EDITION

BY

JANE E. HARRISON.

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PIERRE PARIS,

Late Member of the École Française at Athens.

EDITED AND AUGMENTED BY

JANE E. HARRISON,

Author of "Myths of the 'Odyssey,'" "Introductory Studies in Greek Art," etc.

WITH ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

UNDER the title of *Ancient Sculpture* the present volume will deal with the sculpture of Egypt, the Asiatic East, Greece, and Italy. With reference to the general plan of the book a word of explanation is necessary. In each of the manuals of *Egyptian Archæology*, by G. Maspero, *Oriental Antiquities*, by Ernest Babelon, and *Greek Archæology*, by M. Collignon, a chapter is devoted to sculpture; but it seems desirable that side by side with this admirable book there should appear a volume in which the masterpieces of sculpture, which deserve special study, should be detached from other arts, and made the subject of separate and continuous treatment. Such a survey, it must be distinctly understood, necessarily lays no claim to be a history of ancient art, still less of archæology; it is inevitably rather critical than historical, and being in the main devoted to the study of masterpieces, addresses itself rather to the art student than the archæologist. Dealing largely with questions of taste rather than of fact, it contains necessarily much that is matter rather

of opinion than proof,—opinion for which the author, not the translator, is naturally responsible. Corrections have been restricted to archæological fact, where they have been freely made. That the book aims at meeting a want felt by the art student is evident; that it may also be of use to the beginner in archæology I have been at pains to refer him, so far as space will admit, to the original sources, and have added a somewhat copious bibliography. The many excellent histories of sculpture cited were all written before the recent excavations on the Acropolis. They are, therefore, without exception, necessarily, in their early chapters, out of date. It is hoped that the notice of these discoveries, though unavoidably slight, will open up a rich field of enquiry to the student. To M. Paris's account considerable additions and some illustrations have been added.

In the portion of the book which relates to Egypt I have gratefully to acknowledge the skilled help of Miss M. Brodrick. She kindly undertook for me the troublesome task of altering the French form of Egyptian names, a form wholly unintelligible to the English student, and quite peculiar to the French school. The transliteration accepted by the best English and German Egyptologists has been uniformly adopted. I owe to her also many minor suggestions, and especially the interesting notice of the newly-acquired cuneiform tablets of the British Museum.

JANE E. HARRISON.

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* In this and in the three mythological dictionaries full reference will be found to the monographs on each subject which have appeared in the various archæological periodicals.

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ANCIENT SCULPTURE.

BOOK I.

THE EAST.

I.

EGYPT.

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"EGYPT," as M. Perrot has said, "is the mother of civilized nations." The most ancient of all civilizations, whose history we have so far been able to learn, is that

which grew up on the banks of the Nile, and in this civilization art holds an exceptional place. With Egypt, therefore, the survey of ancient sculpture we are about to undertake must necessarily begin.

The beginnings of sculpture in Egypt are scarcely less obscure than the rise of the Egyptian race itself; it is impossible, in the present stage of our knowledge, to say when and how the Egyptian artist first began to translate into drawing and modelling the forms of living and other material objects which most impressed his imagination, or, again, how he emerged from the most primitive stages of art, and felt his way to the mature mastery of material. Nestor l'Hôte,* a draughtsman attached to the Egyptian Expedition, said, "We only know Egyptian art in its decadence;" succeeding discoveries have confirmed the deep insight of this remark.

Of the history of Egypt prior to the time of Mena we know absolutely nothing. That Mena founded, as has been sometimes asserted, a hereditary monarchy upon the ruins of a sacerdotal theocracy is pure conjecture. Before the Memphite dynasties total darkness lies upon the life and art of Egypt; nothing is known of her art any more than of her civilization and state records.

We may probably assert, with M. Maspero, whose knowledge on these points is almost infallible, that the famous Sphinx of Gizeh is "the work of generations previous to Mena" (fig. 1). M. Maspero, who recently excavated the front part of the colossus, expressed what he felt of its beauty in words which must be quoted here: "The sands which for centuries have buried it chin-

* *Journal des Savants*, 1851, pp. 53, 54.

deep, could not save it from ruin. Its worn body has now only the general outline of the lion; the paws and the breast, restored under the Ptolemies and the



Fig. 1.—The Great Sphinx, Gizeh.

Cæsars, only retain traces of the new covering of stone which was put upon them then to hide the ravages of time. The lower part of the head-dress has fallen, and the wasted neck seems too feeble to support the weight

of the head. The nose and the beard have been broken by fanatics, the red tint which brightened the features is almost entirely effaced. And yet the expression of the whole, with all time's ravages, is one of sovereign force and grandeur." The eyes look out upon the distance with the intensity of profound thought; the mouth still smiles, the entire face breathes repose and power. The art which imagined this prodigious statue, and hewed it out of a very mountain, was a finished art, master of itself, sure of its effects. How many centuries must it not have taken to achieve this degree of maturity and perfection!

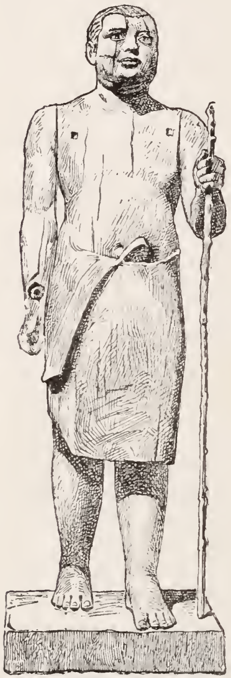
One day, perhaps, we shall have the good fortune to understand this art better through other specimens. These twenty mètres of sand may be cleared away, "under which, at the foot of the Sphinx, yet sleep the unknown works of primitive dynasties." The tombs, the temples, and the palaces of primeval generations of Egyptians will be an open storehouse, and the treasure-trove will tell us what was the inspiration and what the technique, what the merit and success of those early sculptors, and how they influenced the great artists of the Memphite period.

These last, at any rate, we know well; numbers of their works, recovered from the mastâbas or tombs, are the glory of the Museum of Boulaq and the Egyptian Rooms of the Louvre. It is not very easy to mistake a statue or a bas-relief of the Memphite period for one of a more recent date, for the Memphite school has a style peculiar to itself, which no other in antiquity possesses in a like degree: it is *realistic*. It was the outcome of the Egyptian religious

beliefs of the period, beliefs to whose service sculpture lent itself in a very natural way.

Everyone knows nowadays that the Egyptians regarded man as an odd compound of several elements, distinct, and yet strictly united; first the body, then (we quote M. Maspero) "the *double*, which is a second and less substantial edition of the body, a coloured, vaporous projection, exactly reproducing each individual,—child for child, woman for woman, and man for man. After the *double* comes the soul, which the popular fancy represented as a bird; and after the soul the fiery essence, a spark of the Divine flame." The man thus compounded lives as long as his elements remain united in the fulfilment of their proper functions; death, in our sense of the term, is merely an accident, which causes a man to pass from the terrestrial life to that of the tombs. This life in the tomb is in all respects like the first, not eternal as the celestial life believed in by the Christian, but limited in time by the duration of the body and the *double* enclosed in the tomb, while the soul and the fiery essence come and go between the tomb and the dwellings of the gods. Death, real and final, is the disappearance of the body and the *double*. Thus the persistence of these two elements must be assured by every means: the body becomes a mummy, and both the body and the *double* have a number of substitutes, wooden and limestone statues, modelled in the image of the dead. These are intended to resist the centuries to come by their imperishable hardness, and brave the devastations of men by their secret burial in the mysterious depths of the mastâbas.

Thus preserved, the dead man renews in the tomb the labours and the pleasures of the upper world. Moreover, the tomb also serves as the double of this upper world, for there the dead man finds, of course in effigy, a crowd of family and friends and servants, whose statues were massed together in the shafts and funeral chambers, whilst the walls were profusely adorned with bas-reliefs and frescoes.


Fig. 2.—Ra-em-ka, the Sheikh-el-beled (Boulaq).

More and more of this subterranean world is from day to day being brought to light, for the *mastâbas* have ceased to be inviolable, and they reveal to us an art perhaps better adapted to its purpose than any other in the world.

The perfection of these substitutes consisted in their likeness to the body itself, so that the whole effort of the sculptors was limited to portrait-making; and in this they easily became past masters. Some of those funeral portraits are becoming by degrees as famous as many of the Greek works. Take, for example, the wooden statue of Ra-em-ka (Fig. 2), in the Museum of Boulaq—"Superintendent of Works"—the Sheikh-el-beled the fellahs called him who discovered him, he was so like one of their own municipal magistrates.

Erect, wearing a cotton garment which falls from the waist to the knees, he walks slowly, leaning on a staff; he is portly of figure, his round arms and his flabby legs are a little puffed; his great, close-shorn, chubby head, carried erect, is all alive in its expressive vulgarity, in spite of the disfiguring clefts in the wood; and one can see at once that the sculptor has seized and rendered the typical features of Ra-em-ka, a good fellow at bottom, but sharp and fidgety, like many stout folk; certainly using his staff more for walking with than for beating, but with that keen overseer's eye of his always wide open, and seeing farther than many a master's (fig. 3).



Fig. 3.—Head of Ra-em-ka (Boulaq).

Side by side with the Sheikh at Boulaq, let us admire the kneeling scribe so admirably described by M. Maspero: "He has just brought, for his chief's examination, some roll of papyrus or tablet covered with writing (fig. 4). Kneeling, as etiquette requires, with crossed hands, rounded back, and head slightly inclined, he waits till the reading of the account is over. The sculptor has seized inimitably the expression of resigned uncertainty, of sheepish compliance, which has been produced in his model by an entire life passed in service. Upon the mouth there is the dreary conventional smile, the nose and cheeks help out the grimace. The two great enamel eyes have the vacant

look of a man who waits without wishing to fix his gaze or concentrate his thoughts upon any particular object. The face lacks intelligence and vivacity; but after all the trade did not demand any great mental activity."

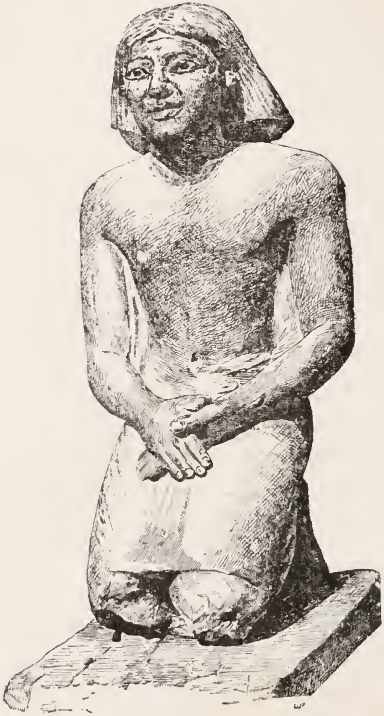


Fig. 4.—The kneeling scribe (Boulaq).

The cross-legged scribe of the Louvre, on the contrary,—the most precious work in our Egyptian collection, found by Mariette in a tomb in the Serapeum excavations,—has a singularly bright, wide-awake expression (fig. 5). Dressed in a simple apron from the waist to the knees, seated cross-legged on the ground in Oriental fashion, the reed pen placed ready on the papyrus, he listens, prepared to write at his master's dictation. The whole face is strained towards the commanding voice, but the eye especially, whose pupil of rock crystal shines in a globe of white opaque quartz, enshrined in lids and lashes of bronze, is alight with keen intelligence.

The remarkable vivacity in the eyes of the "Cross-legged Scribe" and the "Sheikh-el-beled" is chiefly due to the fact that behind the iris in each case is inserted a small silver nail, which serves the twofold purpose of reflecting the light in such a manner as to produce a most lifelike effect, while at the same time giving to the spectator the impression that the eyes are a pair, and properly focussed. The same device was adopted by the Greeks, as is seen in a beautiful little bronze statuette, in the British Museum. The hair is smooth, the ears large and prominent, the cheek bones are well-marked and salient; the cheeks are thin; the body, on the contrary, is fat and flabby, the pectoral muscles droop flaccid upon a portly belly; the legs and arms are fat but not firm, but the hands are dried and the fingers slim and supple with the use of the style. All the man's vigour and activity come out both in the head and hands. His lower limbs are puffy, as is natural to one engaged in a sedentary pursuit. But this pursuit of scribe has impressed upon his face, in contrast to his limbs, the expression of that prompt and facile intelligence which it exacts.



Fig. 5.—The cross-legged scribe (Louvre).

Leaving the humble subject, citizen, or it may be even slave, we may pass on to the all-powerful Pharaoh, to Khafra for example, several of whose statues in diorite are to be found in the Museum at Boulaq. The instance selected (fig. 6) is more than life size. The attitude of the royal body in repose is simple. The Pharaoh is firmly seated on a large throne, his hands rest upon his knees, the eyes, simply sculpture, without artificial pupils, are intent upon the distance, lost in calm contemplation of the infinite; the nobility of the torso and young limbs, the purity and regularity, the majestic gravity of the face, the sober and elegant fashion of the mere headdress (klaft),—everything about him expresses royal grandeur inexpressibly touched by ideality. Yet from little touches about the face it is easy to see that a likeness to the particular man who wore this kingly semblance has been sought and obtained, for before everything the statue was a portrait; the gods must clearly recognise in it the original whose life they were to



Fig. 6.—Khafra (Boulaq).

prolong. This is just why Knoumhotep, for example, the hideous little dwarf, has emerged from his tomb in the full realism of his ugliness and deformity (fig. 7). His huge pear-shaped head, with vile, blunt features, tops an unwieldy trunk, sustained with difficulty by two stunted, splay-footed legs. Every detail of this curious little statue displays the plastic quality of the limestone, and also reveals a rare feeling for the picturesque and a searching observation and close study of nature.


Fig. 7.—Knoumhotep (Boulaq).

The necessity imposed upon the Memphite sculptors of expressing with precision the exact features of their models, bodily as well as facial, made them the familiar observers of a countless diversity of movements and attitudes; further, they excelled in chiselling representations in relief and bas-relief of those companions which were imprisoned in the tomb with the mummy and the *doubles*. All the limestone or wooden statues, great and small, which so greatly astonish the visitors to the Boulaq Museum, and upset all the mistaken current ideas about the rigidity and uniformity of Egyptian art; all the personages carved in bold relief

upon the walls of the mastâbas, cannot rightly be called portraits in the same sense as the Scribes or the Sheikh-el-beled; but they are due to the same inspiration; to those same ideas about the after-life we must attribute the rightness of their attitudes, their lifelike forms, and the simple ingenuity of their grouping.



Fig. 8.—A slave baker (Boulaq).

These men and women slaves who devoted themselves to all the occupations of slavery, of whom one example is given here (fig. 8), and numerous specimens are reproduced in M. Perrot's *History of Ancient Art*, are very real and living, worthy of the masters whom they had followed into the depths of the mastâbas that they might knead the bread for their repast or scour their funeral furniture. As M. Maspero has so well said: "The reproduction in painting or sculpture of people and things assured to him for whose benefit they were executed the real existence of the persons and things

thus reproduced." Given this premise, theologians and sculptors proceeded to draw logical conclusions. Hence the great number of pictures and bas-reliefs covering the walls of the tombs; hence also the variety of the scenes portrayed: all the dead man's worldly possessions painted or sculptured in his grave; all his former occupations he finds figured around him. Look, for example, at Phtah-hotep surveying the return of his

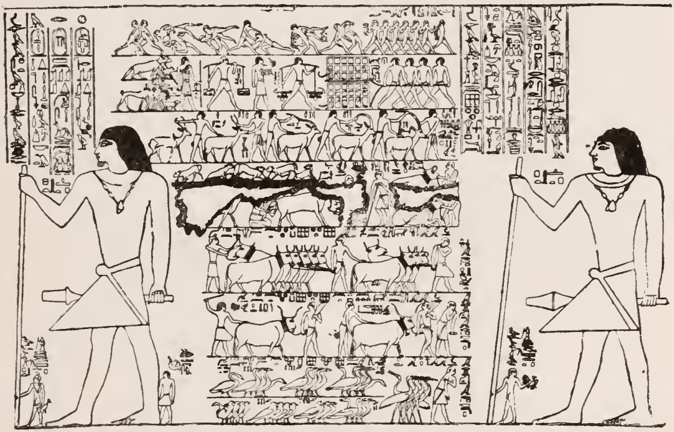


Fig. 9.—Phtah-hotep surveying the return of his flocks (tomb at Sakkarah, 5th Dynasty).

flocks, goats, oxen, geese, and pigeons (fig. 9); here is Ti, the rich country gentleman, hunting and fishing in the marshes (fig. 10); and (for our space, unhappily, has limits) take, finally, the scribes reckoning the harvest returns, from a bas-relief of Sakkarah (fig. 11). Too high praise cannot be given to the variety of the groups piled up in the eight divisions of the first picture; the supple vivacity of

some of the motions, and of nearly all the attitudes, the truth and precision of the forms, which give lifelike and faultless character to each of the animals. In the second picture every one is busy about his own affairs. Ti, calm and majestic, presides over the chase; and, amongst his slaves, how frankly each carries on his appointed task, this one at his angling, another guiding the boats among the reeds, which are alive with game, feathered or hairy or scaly creatures; and here another struggling with the help of poles against amphibious monsters shaped like hippopotami!



Fig. 10.—Ti hunting (tomb at Sakkarah, 5th Dynasty).

With what grave complaisance the squatting scribes, their extra pens stuck behind their ears, register their master's riches, whilst in the upper part of the picture his poor slaves expiate hardly, under the rod, their lack of zeal or honesty!

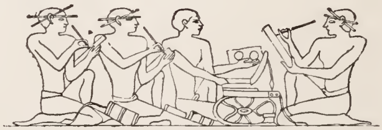


Fig. 11.—Scribes reckoning the harvest (tomb at Sakkarah, Ancient Empire).

The Memphite Empire died with the tenth dynasty. Did the first Theban Empire, which replaced it from the eleventh to the thirteenth dynasty, outstrip it by the brilliancy of its political glories and its civilization? Its art, at any rate, is but a dim reflection of the Memphite art; the decadence has indeed begun. If one or two portraits like those of Ra-hotep or of his wife Nofert are still beautiful (fig. 12); if one feels that they are striking likenesses; if the sculptor shows real and



Fig. 12.—Ra-hotep and Nofert (Boulaq).

original *verve*, we must attribute these merits to the persistence of the Memphite tradition. But unhappily, with time, which also modified the religious ideas and turned the activity of the sculptors in other directions, what was best in their tradition was weakened and lost; that is to say, the study of nature and the effort at reproduction of the native character of the living or material subject. To meet with work of any value—with a few exceptions—the rare and much mutilated

statues which date from the invasion of the Hyksos must be examined; that epoch divides the first Theban Empire in two parts, and foreign dynasties were then substituted for national ones. The sculptors of that era have successfully reproduced the characteristic features of the new race, above all of the Asiatic— "with his narrow eyes, his aquiline nose flattened at the tip, his prominent cheek bones and slightly protruding lower lip." But the crowd of native Pharaohs, of lords and citizens, unearthed at Thebes, and the bas-reliefs from the same source, are only bad stereotypes of Memphite statues and bas-reliefs; imagination, invention, are over and gone; the artists can only repeat attitudes and gestures, borrowed, not from living, moving men, but from antique statues, inactive models of stone and wood. As to the execution, if it is occasionally clever, if the chisels of some few artists have retained some touch of daring, if the capacity to create a contour or model a form is not wholly dead, still for the most part art is cold and lifeless, and contented with a half-success; the hand, like the fancy of the sculptor, has descended to the nerveless indolence of routine.

These grave defects continue through the second Theban Empire, from the eighteenth to the twenty-first dynasty. But under some of the kings of that period, the most famous of the long series, under the reign of Amenhotep III. and Thothmes III. (eighteenth dynasty), the Setis and the Ramses (nineteenth dynasty), the great conquerors and masters of civilization, the incomparable lustre of Egypt shines far and wide. A field for activity, by no means

new, but wider and more magnificent, is opened to the artists; their task is how worthily to honour these glorious monarchs who have planned and successfully carried out famous enterprises, to honour them and the gods who have inspired them and smiled upon their efforts; and the whole people, the tool of their genius. These new conditions impose upon art a new character; it becomes national. But this character is solely revealed in the choice of subjects, all connected with the national history: the king, his wars, his victories, his great works, his relations with the gods, who are rather his equals than his masters, and his people, who are rather his slaves than his subjects. It is no longer a question of peopling the wells and funeral chambers, but of sumptuously decorating the temples which are raised by the piety or gratitude of the sovereigns to the guardian divinities, and the palaces where their own power is to be enthroned, where their vast riches are to be accumulated. Sculpture becomes the humble handmaid of Architecture.

Hence also comes a new distinctive feature: sculpture works habitually on a larger scale than nature, attaining, like her mistress, magnificence *by size*. By the side of the enormous colonnade of Karnak, the Pharaohs of the ancient empire would have looked like pigmies; the colossi of Amenhotep III. (known as the *Statues of Memnon*), like those of Ramses at Ibsamboul, like the sphinxes which lined the avenues of the temples, by their prodigious stature and gigantic proportions were well in keeping with the structures of which they were not only ornaments, but integral parts. As for

the bas-reliefs, where the king, a central figure, round which circle humbly the images of humbler men, stands out in masterful relief from all his train by his superior stature, it is merely by the multiplying of characters and elaborating of scenes that the sculptors attain the desired grandeur of effect. Instead of covering each space to be adorned with a single picture, of which each figure would fill the entire height, they space out the walls in tier above tier, in which the actors swarm in a variety of scenes.



Fig. 13.—Thothmes III. (British Museum).

In all the works good qualities and defects abound. In the good qualities here again the Memphite tradition still lingers. Some of the statues are good portraits. "The sculptors of this period," as M. Perrot says, "have not lost the habit of seeking and the talent for seizing likeness to the individual."

The colossal head of Thothmes III., in pinkish granite, may be cited (fig. 13). "There is nothing Egyptian in the features; the shape of the nose, the eyelids drawn up at the outer corners, the line of the mouth, the general outline of the face, all recall rather the Armenian than the Egyptian race. Others have traced in this type the indications of negro blood" (Perrot).

Let us instance again the head of black marble,

fragment of a colossal statue, which M. Perrot believes to be the portrait of Menephtah, M. Maspero that of Horemheb (fig. 14). "It is the head of a king," says M. Charmes, "covered by an enormous coiffure, which is weighty without being ornamental. The young king was standing; he held in his left hand a sceptre, terminating in a ram's head. Nothing can give any idea of the youthful, almost childish grace, of the gentle, melancholy charm of this delicious face, over which there seems to hover the presentiment of a miserable destiny. It is marvellous that those clear-gazing



Fig. 14.—Head of Menephtah (Boulaq).

eyes could be carved out of material as hard as granite; that delicate nose, those lips so soft and living that one would think them moulded in wax! Certainly we are here in the presence of one of the finest

specimens that remain to us of Egyptian statuary. No other art has produced a more exquisite work."

But what shall be said of the image of Queen Taia? (fig. 15). By some her portrait is held to be the masterpiece of the Theban school. We quote the description of M. Charmes: "When we look upon the admirable head of Taia, in the Boulaq Museum, her refined features, which have none of the Egyptian stiffness, her upward smiling mouth, her lips like those of a sphinx, her expression of disdainful coquetry, her disturbing mysterious beauty, charged with associations of a past full of mysterious irresistible charm,—it is impossible not to weave for oneself a history, perhaps a romance, concerning this enigmatic woman." Since these words were written the enigma of Taia has been at least in part solved. She was the wife of Amenhotep III., and a princess of Semitic origin. The British Museum has just become possessed of a series of cuneiform tablets, which promise to throw much light upon this vexed question of Egyptian history. Apparently they form a series of letters from Amenhotep III. to Tashratta, King of Mesopotamia; and from them we learn that the Egyptian monarch, when on a hunting expedition in that country,



Fig. 15.—Head of Taia (Boulaq).

met the daughter of the Mesopotamian king, married her, and took her back with him to Egypt. Of the religious revolution that followed the reign of Taia, the eunuch king Khuenaten (Splendour of the Sun's Disk) was the chief author. He brought in the worship of the Sun whose name he bore. It has often been asserted that Khuenaten and Amenhotep IV. are one and the same person; but there is distinct monumental evidence that this assumption is erroneous. In the tomb at Thebes, *Amenhotep IV. and Khuenaten are both shown in separate bas-reliefs, with their respective cartouches above*, so that identity is impossible. The features of Amenhotep are purely Egyptian, and in no way resemble those of Khuenaten.

According to Lepsius, Amenhotep left two sons, Amenhotep the fourth of that name, who was supposed afterwards to have called himself Khuenaten, and Thutmes; but that the eunuch king was the son of Taia is a matter of grave doubt. Compare portraits of Taia and her son from the tomb of Taia with those of Khuenaten; also compare portraits of Amenhotep III. and Khuenaten. (*Nile Gleanings*, pp. 78, 79. V. Stuart.) In the tomb at Thebes, Amenhotep IV. and Khuenaten are both shown in separate bas-reliefs, with their cartouches above them. The features of the former are purely Egyptian, and in no way resemble those of the latter.

It has been suggested that Khuenaten was an official holding an important post at the court of Amenhotep IV.; that he married the king's daughter, and, in right of female succession, became, at his royal father-in-law's death, king; that during the first few years of his

reign he adopted the late king's cartouch, but eventually dropped it for the name by which he is generally known in history. Notice that his queen wears the vulture head-dress and uræus, showing that she reigned by hereditary right.

A statuette in the Louvre, about two feet high, reproduces his deformed body and features, whose realism takes us back almost to the best period of Memphite sculpture. Kingly as he is, in spite of the attributes and insignia of supreme power, Khuenaten has kept in effigy all his native ugliness, and all that mutilation has graven on his person. "No detail has repelled the sculptor, who seems even to have made a point of rendering with the greatest exactitude the most repulsive features of his model: the face, with receding brow, and great dull eyes, flattened nose, and inexpressive lips, is stupid and dismal; the arms, the thighs, the legs, are round and soft; the breasts, devoid of muscle, and drooping on the stomach; the flabby, distended belly, lack virility; but these very details, faithfully copied from nature, reveal in the sculptor a talent rare in



Fig. 16.—Amenhotep IV. (Louvre).

his epoch, for which we cannot praise him too highly"* (fig. 16).

For side by side with some few fragments from a master hand which critics will always take delight in describing, exist too many cold impersonal statues! In the museums or in the great ruins of Middle Egypt, Thebes, Tanis, Abydos, Ibsamboul, and so many others, we find colossus after colossus, Pharaoh after Pharaoh, and sphinx upon sphinx, in disheartening monotony. The attitudes are repeated without any attempt at variety, movements after movements are copied, and though there is remarkable skill everywhere displayed in hewing giant figures out of the rock, in shaping and polishing the hardest granite crags, in casting bronze in finely executed but always identical moulds, yet this cold, conventional technique has only this single invariable interest; all these works preserved in such numbers, whether we judge the fancy which conceived them or the hand which created them from shapeless matter, have only the very secondary merit of being reproductions, hardly interpretations; they are like copies, struck abundantly from a strictly limited set of moulds, and oftenest from moulds so old and past use that it is fully time they were broken up.

The bas-reliefs that decorate porches and temples are almost as monotonous as the statues. Their themes vary little: "Combats, victories, triumphal entries of conquerors, religious scenes, representing homage and adoration." Of course it is possible for these few kindred themes to receive an infinite variety of detailed treatment. The Greeks, who themselves have repre-

* *Nile Gleanings*, pp. 78, 99. Villiers Stuart.

sented a hundred times certain favourite scenes in their mythology,—*e.g.*, struggle between the Gods and the Giants, the Centaurs and the Lapithæ,—rarely repeated themselves, and found for each new version novel episodes and groups of actors. But the Egyptian sculptors were forced to produce much and rapidly; they lacked the time to think out their works and execute them with the minute care which perfection demands. The result is that, on the one hand, satisfied with the pictures conceived of old, the forms discovered and adopted by former generations, the practical processes handed down by the old masters, they felt no need to invent; whilst, on the other hand, they have not bettered their heritage, for this method of reproducing without taking trouble is sterile, nor even good in itself, for it is not only sterile but debasing. In short, in the Theban era, during the first as well as the second empire, conventions reign supreme; what they were and what they were worth will shortly appear.

For the present, attention must be drawn to a few bas-reliefs which stand out forcibly from this melancholy background of uniformity. These examples will lessen in some measure the unfavourable impression of Theban art which may perhaps have arisen out of the previous pages. In artistic matters every dogmatic opinion is shown to have an element of falsity, or at least exaggeration, as soon as, even in the most degenerate eras, we have to reckon with the freedom and originality of a few exceptional talents.

First and foremost we must place the Seti I. of the great temple at Abydos. This work only just misses being a masterpiece (fig. 17). The upright figure of

the king walking to the left is in the act of adoration ; he is offering a little statue to some divinity. There are numerous technical defects: the legs, badly drawn, are out of perspective; they are viewed in profile, and do not fit with the torso seen from three-quarter view ; the left arm is out of joint with the shoulder ; the fingers, with an odd attempt at elegance, are too long and too much curved at the tips ; the thumb is as ill-figured as it can be. The great toes are both of them on the outside of the feet—so too are the thumbs on the hands, an anatomical error not uncommon in Egyptian art. But there is an indefinite charm about the whole ; Pharaoh's profile is full of youthful grace—the little mouth, the delicate chin and nose, the narrow almond - shaped eyes, coquettishly lengthened out by an artificial line under the long eyebrows ; the light round cap, decorated with the kingly serpent (the *uræus*), symbol of royalty, in a loosely coiled spiral ; the whole face is impressed with a sweetness which is by no means exclusive of majesty. The lines of the body, in spite of the staring anatomical faults, are supple and pure, and their grace harmonises delicately with the coquettish adornments, prettily wrought bracelets and necklets, and the finely folded apron.

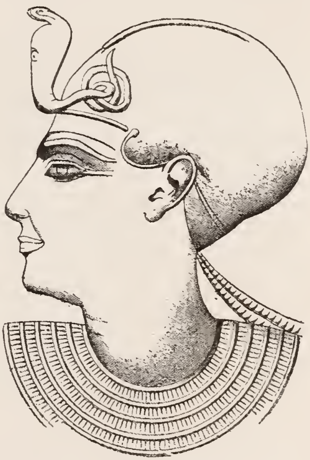


Fig. 17.—Seti I. (Abydos).

The picture at Karnak (outer wall of the great temple), representing the triumphal entry of Ramses II. from Syria, is a much less careful work (fig. 18). Ramses is in his chariot, from which hang trunkless heads, his trophies of arms; he drives before and drags behind him long lines of chained captives. The king is sketched in boldly in a few slight lines; the attitude of the conqueror, grave and quiet, gives the impression of power con-

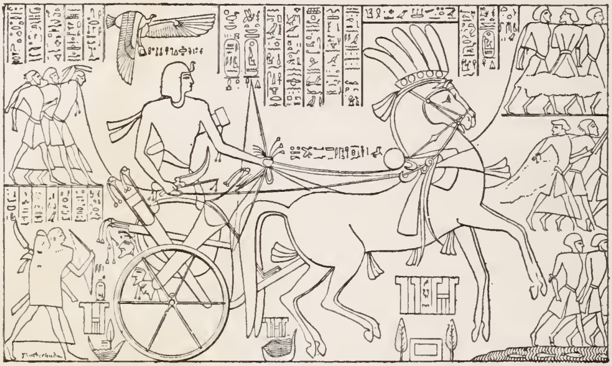


Fig. 18.—Ramses II. victorious. External face of northern wall (Karnak).

fident in itself, of glory without irritation, and majesty without pride; the haughty, prancing steeds, whose hind quarters are too round, whose feet are too slender, are more elegant than vigorous; but the prisoners, rapidly planted in various odd attitudes, amuse us by their strange and differing types, the salient points of which are seized and rendered with a vivid feeling for the picturesque. The picture, taken as a whole, has a lively and individual style of its own, and, like all really fine

works of the period, what strikes us as good in it is due to the traditions of realism.

It is realism too that gives all the value to the funeral dance reproduced in fig. 19. One and the same criticism applies to all those transparently robed nautch girls (Almehs), some of a Jewish type, whose bodies twist and twirl to the sound of the tambourines with the ungraceful rhythm of their characteristic dance ; to these men also whose long out-



Fig. 19.—Funeral dance. From tomb in necropolis at Memphis (Boulaq).

stretched arms and ample gathered circular skirts recall the dancing dervishes.

They are all badly drawn ; their bodies are lank and lean, their feet, arms, and hands are ridiculously long ; but the movements are fairly real upon the whole, and well studied, and the characters are picturesquely grouped. Here we have a proof that side by side with the official sculpture, of which the bas-reliefs of Seti and Ramses are remarkable examples, there was a free art, in which the Egyptian sculptors' wonderful powers of observation still found free play. Works of this school

are rare as yet in our museums; if we could make a study of painting during the second Theban empire we should see that the painters followed this happy bent more freely and more often than the sculptors.

"Egypt, since the dynasty of the Ramses," says M. Perrot, "has not ceased to decay, and her decline was more evident than ever in the first half of the seventeenth century before our era, when Ethiopia and Assyria disputed for her possession. She revives under Psammetichus; she rids herself of the foreigner; she renews her national unity, and even for a time regains her supremacy over Syria. With this return of fortune there is a corresponding artistic renascence; the princes of the twenty-sixth dynasty make every effort to repair the ruins made by civil dissension and the invasions from the north and south."

The art of the Saïte renascence has a twofold tendency. Most of the sculptors revive the tradition of Theban art; they produce hastily, and fall into the familiar commonplaces of rapid decoration; they remain indifferent imitators of their immediate predecessors. It may be admitted, not without many reservations, that they have tried more than the Thebans to render the body naturally by their suppler modelling; consequently the forms are more rounded, but unfortunately only too often degenerate into laxness in consequence of their determination to soften down all the angles. The Saïtes, besides, were fond of attacking the hardest stones, basalt, sandstone or serpentine, and according to their ideas, proved the whole ingenuity of their technique in polishing and furrowing to excess materials essentially hard and non-plastic. Like all artists of a decadence,

they put out their whole strength, and make it a point of honour to make useless conquests of difficulties.

We do not describe any work of this bastard school; we prefer to cite two or three little pieces by much more interesting sculptors who tried to work in the old spirit of the national art. The portrait of Queen Ameniritis (fig. 20) is exceedingly praiseworthy. There is, indeed, a certain awkwardness about the attitude, and the outlines are somewhat constrained; but the head is expressive, and shows very close study; the body is simply framed and modelled; there is genuine inspiration and freedom of manipulation about the whole. A statue of a kneeling scribe, Nekht-Har-Heb, in the Louvre; Pedis-hashi, familiarly seated in a novel posture, his knees drawn up to his chin. "His face," says M. Maspero, "has an expression of youth and spiritual sweetness which we do not often get from the chisel of an Egyptian,"—he recalls the Memphite period at its prime.

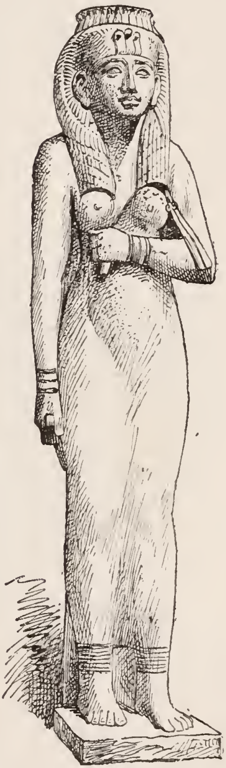


Fig. 20.—Queen Ameniritis (Boulaq).

As to the limestone head in the Louvre, reproduced in fig. 21, it is almost as good as those which we have admired most for their frank realism: the bald

rugged brow, graven with two deep furrows, the little hard, old eyes, whence comes a wrinkle cutting across the cheek, the crow's feet, the long cleft of the mouth, with its thin, compressed lips, the square, bony chin, the harsh, obstinate air, the striking features of a dreary, whimsical old man, are vigorously rendered with much *verve* and freshness.

Attention might also be attracted to a few bas-reliefs where imitation of archaism is clearly revealed, but, to speak briefly, during the Saïte era, anything good is exceptional; Theban conventionalism carries all before it; and this conventionalism—or tradition, if conventionalism is too hard a word—has so much force, that in spite of the contact of Egypt with Greece before Alexander, even later under the reign of the Ptolemies, Egyptian art remains irrevocably attached to it; Alexander's successors are figured in the attitude and costume, scarcely modified, of the Pharaohs.

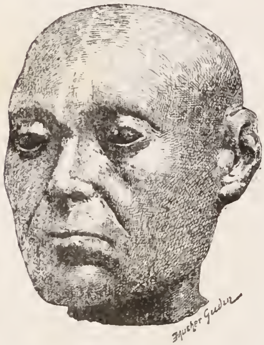


Fig. 21.—Head of scribe (Louvre).

Only later, so to speak, in spite of themselves, Egyptian sculptors have submitted to the ascendency of the art as well as the civilization of the Greeks. There is a fair number of works in which the national style is modelled on that of Greece. Such is Hor, discovered in 1881.

"The head," says M. Maspero, "is a good piece of a rather dry work. The long thin nose, the eyes set

close together, the little mouth pinched in at the corners, the square chin—all these features combine in giving the face a hard, obstinate character. The hair is cropped, but not so short as to prevent it parting naturally into little thick curls. The body, wearing the chlamys, and awkwardly enough chiselled, is too narrow for the head. One arm hangs down, the other is brought over the stomach" (fig. 22). We feel that Hor is more Greek than Egyptian, but Hor is as yet exceptional. The statues and statuettes, the little figures of bronze, above all the divinities, which swarm in our museums, and which we relegate unhesitatingly to that long period which stretches from the Ptolemies to the invasion of the barbarians in the middle of the third century, are all of the Saïte style. The love of the Emperor Hadrian for esoteric, and especially Egyptian, art, by stimulating in Egypt a new if transient renascence, was not of a nature to destroy whatever national character sculpture had retained.



Fig. 22.—Hor (Boulaq).

This short survey has proved satisfactorily, we hope, that Egyptian sculpture does not deserve the reproach so often aimed at it of wearisome stagnation. It is an art that has progressed, it has undergone slow but sure

changes. But it is none the less true that it is easy to fall into such an error if we rely merely upon superficial examination.

Egyptian sculpture has, doubtless, in the course of its long history, something monotonous and unvarying about it, which ends by wearying us, and creates the grievous illusion of a stationary art: it is, namely, her series of conventions, which were very characteristic and unusually persistent. We are not speaking now of the technical processes of the craft, often imposed by local conditions of work, tools, and materials; but of certain marked habits of design, composition, and style. Possibly all artists *see* Nature in the same way, and there is no difference in this point between a Memphite and a Greek or French sculptor; but the moment that the question arises of giving plastic form to the things seen, the artists find themselves confronted with difficulties which each solves according to his inspiration and ability. Convention arises as soon as one man discovers methods of interpretation which dominate his rivals and successors. An art progresses and approaches perfection in proportion as it becomes completely untrammelled by the conventions forged at its birth by the ignorance or unskilfulness of early masters. Egyptian sculpture has not made progress because in its prime it has either not wished or not known how to break with the conventions of its infancy.

A few of these conventions are common to relief and bas-relief; the principal one is polychromy (variety of colour). Nowhere else has painting been of such service to sculpture as in Egypt: all the statues, except perhaps a few in basalt or sandstone, and all the

bas-reliefs, were coloured, and coloured according to certain more or less fixed rules. The statues were painted all over, but only the figures of the bas-reliefs, whilst the background retained its natural tint. The colours employed were fairly numerous; palettes dating from the fifth dynasty have been found with divisions for yellow, red, blue, brown, white, black, and green; others of a later date, of the eighteenth dynasty, allow for thirteen distinct shades. M. Maspero has seized very well upon the character of Egyptian polychromy.

"They employed flat uniform tints, and laid on in broad spaces side by side, but never blended; they illuminated, they did not paint in our sense of the word. . . . They had a simple scheme of colour, bringing down to a single unbroken tint all the variety of tones which the subject possessed naturally or when played upon by light and shade. It is never quite true nor quite false. It gets as near as possible to Nature without any pretension to faithful imitation, at times weaker than Nature, at times exaggerating and substituting for the visible reality an idealised convention. Water is always blue, unshaded, or wavy with black zigzags. The tawny and bluish sheen of the vulture's feathers are rendered by staring red or bright blue. The men have their naked feet brown; all the women, light yellow. They taught in the workshops what was the colour proper to each living or material object, and the recipe, once composed, was transmitted unchanged from generation to generation. From time to time, some painter, bolder than the rest, dared to break with tradition. Men are sometimes found with the yellow tint of the women at Sakkarah, under the

fifth dynasty, and at Ibsamboul under the nineteenth, and people with rose-coloured flesh in the tombs of Thebes and Abydos, towards the epoch of Thothmes IV. and of Horemheb. These novelties did not outlast a century, and the school returned to its former groove."

All visitors to Egypt agree in saying that this pictorial decoration, in spite of its conventional character, has the happiest effect : there is never anything hard or discordant about the arrangement of the flat washes. The tints, extraordinarily bright in the dark underground chambers, grown pale and soft, however, in the discreet twilight of the halls, harmonise here with the blaze of torch or sun, there with the mysterious half light. But convention was not confined to the colouring of sculptured forms ; the forms themselves were modelled in an entirely conventional manner. We must except the portraits of the Memphite School ; religion demanded an exact bodily as well as facial resemblance ; curious examples of this have been cited. But with the exception of this special case, it is an avowed principle with all the sculptors that there is only one age for men and women alike, and that is youth at its prime. On the walls of the mastâbas, in the underground chambers (hypogea) of the new empire, on the walls of the temples and the porches, all the men and all the women are in the full bloom of vigour ; no decrepit old men, no unformed youths. The sculptors, it must be confessed, have thus deprived themselves of much that is valuable in life and variety. For this type of the youthful and beautiful body, once discovered and accepted, naturally

became dominant and never changed; the artists, avoiding the wearisome effort of observation and research, and, in due course, of individual portraiture, reproduced it endlessly, only modifying the action.



Fig. 23.—The goddess Sekhet (British Museum).

Hence follow certain inevitable conventions, for of course differences in the personages must be clearly shown. There came upon the scene children, old men and women, as well as mature men and women in the flower of their age, masters and slaves, kings and subjects, and above men and kings come the gods. With many of this last category it is a simple affair. Some, as we know, were worshipped under the form of beasts, like Apis the ox or Toueris the hippopotamus. In others the human and animal natures were blended: in them, bodies of men or women are crowned by heads of quadrupeds or birds; Anubis has a dog's head, Thoth the head of an ibis; Horus the head of a sparrow-hawk; Hathor is a woman with a cow's head, Rannu a woman with the head of a serpent, Sekhet a woman with a lioness-head (fig. 23). More rarely a male or female head crowns the body

of an animal: such are the sphinxes, uniting with striking symbolism in the body leonine force, in the head, human intelligence. But Ammon, for example, Ptath, Osiris, and yet others are gods in purely human form; if one of them is figured by himself, he is recognisable by his attributes, his costume and head-gear; if he appears in a group, superior stature is added to these details; he will seem colossal amidst the mortals who surround him. And in the same way, the Pharaoh, distinguished also by his royal apparel, will dominate the humbler world of his subjects, and the master of the house the lowly crowd of his servants. As to the children, their small size is enough to distinguish them, or perhaps some naïve baby-gesture, like a finger stuck in the mouth. But these are the sole distinctions, and they are all conventional. The god Ammon, King Ramses, Ti the rich gentleman, the child sucking his finger, whatever the scale of their bodies, have the same body, grown here to superhuman proportions, diminished there and as if shrunk away. It is always the conventional type of the young, strong man which prevails; there is no attempt to express by severer or more beautiful forms divine omnipotence or royal majesty, or by forms that are simpler and less perfect the middle state of man or the weakness of the child. This also explains how the types of the gods and goddesses portrayed have hardly changed at all during so many centuries, and how the human body has always been drawn and sculptured with the same lack of perfection. It was otherwise with the Greeks, whose sculptors trampled upon convention, and exchanged so rapidly, as will be seen, the rude idols of wood and stone

for the immortal gods of Phidias, and the naïve first efforts of antique masters for perfection of form in the athletes of Myron and Polykleitos.

Some conventions are peculiar to relief and some to bas-relief. The former are few in number; we note the sculptor's predilection for grave and restful attitudes and gestures which lack violence. This, however, is often imposed by fragile materials and insufficiency of tools; the standing men generally have their arms hanging by their sides and the left foot advanced; those who are seated have their feet placed together in front of the seat, the elbows close to the waist, the hands resting on the knees. This fixed and conventional attitude is what has so often given to Egyptian sculpture the exceedingly mistaken appellation of *hieratic*. We must add that, seated or standing, the statue is generally massed behind into a block or pillar which gives it at times the appearance of a highly projecting bas-relief. The rarity of groups must be noted,—of those, at least, where two or three persons unite in playing their parts in a common action, "which exists," says M. Perrot, "in order to contrast forms of a different character, and to balance actions of an opposite tendency." These are found in such numbers in the best eras of Greek art; the Hermes of Praxiteles, for example, or the Laocoon. Egypt only knew what we might term family groups, father and mother seated side by side, a child standing at their knees. But each of the three is treated as if he were alone; it is exceptional if the woman happens to place her arm affectionately round her husband's neck, or if the child clings to his father's leg.

But it is the study of bas-reliefs above all that reveals

to us a curious series of conventions which affect the composition of the pictures as well as the drawing of the figures; very peculiar conventions, from which no sculptor ever seems to have dreamed of freeing himself, as he might easily have done, and which give to this branch of Egyptian art its peculiar and individual *cachet.*

In every epoch of Egyptian art bas-relief was treated by three processes. According to the general custom in all other countries, the figures were cut in more or less high relief on a plain surface; but this difficult and very lengthy method was hardly ever adopted for rapid decoration or for large surfaces. Sometimes the figure is modelled in relief in a hollow, one or two centimètres deep. This process, although it is very rare, has this great advantage, that the setting only being in relief, the figures are protected from blows or friction." "But in return for this," as M. Perrot says, "if the light comes ever so little from one side, a part of the model is quite lost in the shade." It was much simpler and more expeditious merely to cut in the outlines on very smooth walls, in short to engrave the designs, and make the relief of the figures more or less pronounced.

But whatever the system chosen, the conventions of design remained the same. M. Maspero, better than any one else, understands the cause of these conventions, and appreciates their peculiar value. We must quote the following happy piece of criticism: "The subject, whether man or beast, is never more than a silhouette which had to be carved upon the surrounding surface. They sought to distinguish amongst these forms those only with a well-marked profile, and which could be seized and

rendered by a single outline on a flat surface. Animals presented no difficult problems: the profiles of the backbone and the belly, the head and the neck, sketched out parallel to the ground, can be adequately rendered in one position; the feet standing out distinct from the body. On the other hand, the *human* figure cannot easily be expressed in mere outline, and a silhouette suppresses too much of what is characteristic. The slope of the brow and nose, the cut of the lips, the lobe of the ear, are all lost when the head is drawn from the front. The bust, on the contrary, must be drawn from the front to get the whole development of the lines of the shoulder, and to view the two arms to the right and left of the body. The lines of the trunk are better modelled from a three-quarters view, and those of the legs seen sideways. The Egyptians did not scruple to combine in one figure the contradictions in perspective produced by the full front and profile views. The head, almost always furnished with an eye taken from the full face, is generally planted upon a front view of the bust, the bust crowns a trunk taken from three-quarter view, and the trunk is supported by legs in profile.

"To the anatomist, these men and women are veritable monsters, and yet they are neither so ugly nor so laughable as we might be led to suppose from the study of the infelicitous copies often made by our artists. The defective members are so cleverly joined to the correct ones that they look as if they were naturally united. The true and fictitious lines succeed, and supplement one another so ingeniously that the one seems to be the necessary correlative of the other." It may be seen, then, that these con-

ventions of drawing result from an inability to render the effects of perspective, easy enough to understand, at least in the initial stages of art. The primitive Greek sculptors could not wholly dispense with the necessity for such childlike renderings ; but what can be excused in early attempts is astonishing and offensive in periods of advanced civilization, when art is ripe. It is a curious question that still remains unanswered, why the Egyptians clung so obstinately to their traditions, refusing, one might almost say, to make advances as easy as they were necessary.

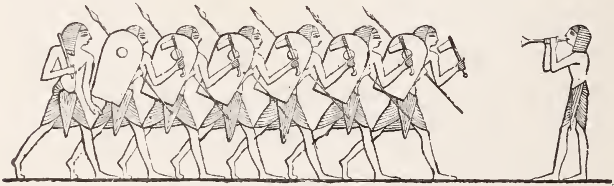


Fig. 24.—Soldiers marching in line (Thebes).

When we pass from the execution to the composition as a whole, we find the same causes producing analogous effects. Here, also, there is no natural perspective ; convention is everything, but it is sometimes very naïve, and sometimes very ingenious. The marvel is that this naïve ingenuity, which is constantly displayed, was not devoted to suppressing convention, rather than strengthening it yet more.

If the Egyptian artist succeeded ill in figuring naturally, in one plane, the human body whose various parts lie in different planes, how was he to achieve the yet more difficult task of creating the illusion of several persons, each placed behind and partially con-

cealed by the next? Take, for instance (as in fig. 24), a number of soldiers, marching in line, seen sideways. If they are to be drawn in perspective, the rule must be observed of making the first, the nearest to the spectator, taller than the second, the second taller than the third, and so on; moreover, if one were to join the feet of all the soldiers with a straight line, the result would be an upward vanishing line; and if one were to join all their heads, a downward vanishing line, forming a more or less acute angle with the former one. The Egyptians contented themselves, as fig. 24 shows, with putting the soldiers behind into the same plane of vision as the front one, without diminishing the height of any of them, and making the line of the feet and the hands parallel; and, moreover, each soldier is placed behind, but hardly at all concealed by his fellow. We saw the Syrians chained to the chariot of the victorious Ramses II. in similar file; but there (fig. 18) there is a certain complication; there not one but three close files of prisoners had to be represented. The sculptor found a very naïve expedient: he has placed them one above the other. The battalion of Egyptians reproduced in fig. 25 is more cleverly arranged, for though the men are still stacked, as it were, and superposed quite arbitrarily like a diagram, they are partially concealed one by

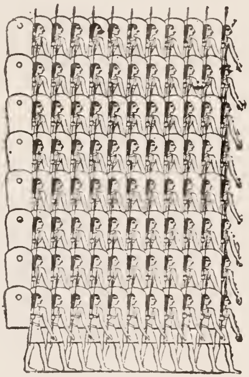


Fig. 25.—Battalion on the march. From the battle of Kadesh, on the walls of the temple at Karnak.

the other, and only overtop each other by the bust. There is, as M. Maspero says, a sort of overlapping of vertical plains. No picture could better display than this phalanx the importance of the stereotype in Egyptian sculpture. All the soldiers are exactly alike; the features of their faces, their dress and armour, the positions of the hands and feet, are the same in all; they are repeated with such a perfect precision and identity, that it is difficult to suppress the thought that the decorators have employed mechanical means, like stencilling. It is, however, probable that each of the personages was drawn independently; and it is a matter for regret that so much effort, which could have been so much more profitably employed in more artistic work, was expended upon tiresome monotony. But they had to work hastily.

However, more than one sculptured picture can be mentioned, whose author was able to evade, in some measure, the excess and *ennui* of these artificial perspectives. The reader may recall to mind some of the bas-reliefs of the Memphite school which have been cited; such as the funeral dance (fig. 19). If the drawing and placing of the dervishes is conventional, if the second row of women dancers is put above the first, in the somewhat unnatural manner already familiar, at any rate all the dancing-women are alive, with individual and independent life; they are really grouped with freedom, without too much convention, and with no stereotyped outline. Such a bas-relief as that of Seti I. in the act of adoration, gives us, it may be said in passing, an example of a curious and fairly frequent convention; it consists in

drawing the bodies as if they were naked, and in simply indicating the draperies which cover them in real life by very meagre lines; the men and women so drawn appear merely to wear a simple robe of floating gauze.

The eye soon becomes accustomed to these pictures of deformed men and these badly balanced groups; it instinctively corrects the faults, and often ends by discovering a kind of charm in conventions which, unnatural though they are, are easily intelligible; but it rebels against approval or even admission of falsfications much bolder and more uncouth than these. The Egyptians never knew how to draw landscape; each object in nature, taken singly, can be well rendered; a tree is easily recognisable; a palm can be distinguished from a papyrus without difficulty; but, like the artist of whom Horace speaks, who was very clever at carving a head of hair, but incapable of grouping on a larger scale, the Egyptians find it the hardest thing in the world rightly to group together different elements which they know well how to portray singly. It is not easy to recognise at first sight in this long rectangular band, placed half way up the trunks of the trees, a canal full of water, flowing amongst palms (fig. 26). It requires some effort to distinguish in this picture (fig. 27) the plan of a house, surrounded by a garden in which are vines, cypresses, and ponds, enclosed in verdure. The reason is that the trees have

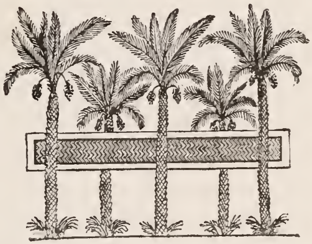


Fig. 26.—Canal flowing between trees (Thebes).

been laid flat on the ground, side by side, and arranged in parallel lines, so that the branches of the one are never entangled with those of the other; even those that surround the ponds, peopled with water-fowl, are

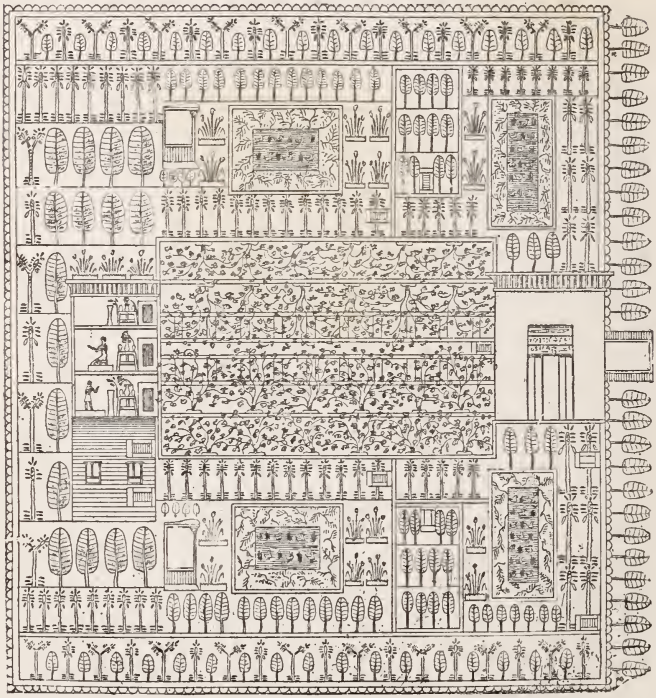


Fig. 27.—House and garden (Thebes).

thrown backwards, like the four vertical sides of a cubical box, which have been folded back on the horizontal plane of its bottom, in order that their foliage may not rob the eye of an inch of the surface of the water.

It should also be noted that all the trees are identical, and seem stereotyped like the soldiers of the above-mentioned bas-relief. As to the houses, they are also represented as lying horizontally, and on the left side, arranged, as it were, according to a vertical section, which allows the arrangements of the floors to be seen. There is in the total effect of conventions and processes a naïveté that is not without its imaginative side. Such a conception, to which quite early masters could certainly not have attained, is well calculated to show us the degree to which timidity and boldness, awkwardness and dexterity, are blended in the Egyptian genius.

Such, indeed, is the general impression which this cursory review is intended to produce. Egyptian sculpture has some great merits; artists, ever since the classic period,—by which is always meant the Memphite empire,—make a profound study of nature, and represent her frankly; they are realists, but in the best sense of the word, that is to say, they know exactly how to link to an unflinching copy of nature their own free and intelligent interpretation. In addition to this talent, founded both upon knowledge of nature and a lively feeling for the ideal, they had a skill of hand which is matter for admiration when it deals with yielding materials like wood or limestone, but for simple wonder when it deals with the hardest and most obdurate granite. No difficulty is permitted to stand in their way; subjected to the bold and patient labour of their tools, limestone and sandstone alike are modelled and rendered supple, as though they were the fine marbles of Paros or Pentelicus; a fragment of a statue in basalt has such delicacy and precision

of anatomical modelling as might well be coveted for models of clay.

But this art bore within it many germs of weakness, which came to prevent the production of any really perfect work; we mean its conventions. These conventions, let it be repeated, have all their *raison d'être;* they are explicable and intelligible; one can explain and understand how, from being at first almost inevitable, they came to be perpetuated through centuries. But their persistence is matter for regret, and it restrained once for all the scope and progress of the sculptor; admitted without a struggle, understood, perhaps admired by all the Egyptians, these conventions were, by saving them trouble and individual observation, a convenience to the artists, whose inevitable hurry in conception and execution they tended to encourage. Without going too far, or criticising them too nearly in themselves, since we have recognized that some of them were necessary in early times, and some of them even are not without their good points, against them the very grave reproach must be levelled, that they kept Egyptian sculpture in a state of general mediocrity, which even the much-lauded beauty of some exceptional works cannot make us forget; and that owing to them the art of Egypt cannot easily be regarded as other than cold, monotonous, and artificial.

II.

MESOPOTAMIA. (CHALDÆA. ASSYRIA.)

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CHALDÆA has a much earlier historical existence than Assyria; the tide of civilization *ascended* the streams of the Tigris and Euphrates; the centre of Chaldæan life passed from Ur and Larsa, cities comparatively near the sea, to Babylon, situated towards the centre of the course of the Euphrates; then the glory of Babylon paled before that of Nineveh, which was the capital of Assyria, and stood in the very midst of Mesopotamia, not far from the sources of the Tigris.

But it cannot be said that the character of this civilization was modified by change of place, much less that it made fresh progress. Of Egyptian art, according to the phrase quoted in the previous chapter, we only know the decadence; the art to which Chaldæa gave birth passed from Chaldæa to Assyria just as it arose, without apparent change or development; we can, indeed we ought, to merge in a single study all Chaldæan and Assyrian sculptures, the most antique as well as the most recent monuments, and define this art as an infant art, which lived and died in infancy. It requires all the erudition and nice analysis of a few critics to distinguish periods in the artistic productions of these two countries, and even the greatest authorities among them seem to us, at times, to build too much upon hypotheses; movement is not necessarily advance; the Chaldæo-Assyrian sculptors have only, it would seem to some of us, described a vast circle, centering round a point always one and the same.

M. Perrot thus writes: "The arts of Chaldæa and Assyria are not two different arts, but two successive movements of the same art, two phases of its development." He further distinguishes in Chaldæa *primitive* art, *archaic* art and *classic* art, and in Assyria several schools of slightly differing inspiration and style. These divisions, which rest on the slightest shades of difference, seem to us hardly necessary, even if their justification is admitted: they are a matter of feeling. The most striking thing about this art really is its immobility, and this is the point to be made clear.

To M. de Sarzec, Vice-Consul for France at Bassorah, belongs the very high honour of having discovered the most ancient Chaldæan monuments. The lucky

excavations of Tell-Loh, doubtless the ancient Sirgulla (1876—1881), have enriched the Museum of the Louvre with an invaluable collection.

One of the most ancient monuments of this rich series is a stone pillar, unfortunately broken and incomplete, whose two sides are covered with inscriptions and bas-reliefs; it is the *Vulture Pillar* (figs. 28, 29). Upon one fragment, naked corpses are stacked, one upon another; two living men, carrying baskets upon their heads, are climbing along an inclined plane. The dead bodies are probably supposed to be *in* the grave; the inclined plane represents the inner slope of the grave, or rather the hillock by the grave on which the basket-bearers are ascending in order that they may throw earth into it. Upon another fragment vultures are taking flight, bearing off in their beaks and talons the scattered limbs of the dead, their heads, arms, and legs. The corpses have a human aspect, but their bodies are shapeless, without any semblance of anatomy; the legs are separated by a simple groove, the feet are indicated by triangles, the arms are stiff and out of joint with the shoulder, or if they are bent at all they bend as if broken at the joints. The heads, like the bodies, are all alike; the top of the skull grows in the



Fig. 28.—The Vulture Pillar (Louvre).

shape of a pear, the nose is arched, in pure Semitic form, continuing the curved, receding line of the brow; the eye is large, drawn from front view in a face in profile; the huge ear is ill drawn and ill placed; there is neither beard nor hair. The living bodies and heads have the same aspect, except that the bodies are draped from



Fig. 29.—The Vulture Pillar (Louvre).

head to knees by a garment falling without folds, and that the heads seem to be adorned behind by a cap. The same heads, identical as stereotypes, are found again in the talons and beaks of the vultures, but the vultures themselves, although more coarsely drawn, are much more real and lifelike than the men. It is a

characteristic detail of execution that the corpses in the tomb are placed one above the other, piled vertically, instead of appearing to lie flat, one behind the other. The sculptor has not been able to arrange several planes by cutting back deep into the stone ; he has got out of his difficulty by using an astonishing convention ; it requires an effort to imagine each figure back in its real place. The subject represented by the different reliefs upon the pillar is very simple ; it is certainly a monument in memory of some victorious monarch, who wishes to display the despoiled and naked bodies of his conquered foes, shamefully buried, or devoured on the battle-field by birds of prey.

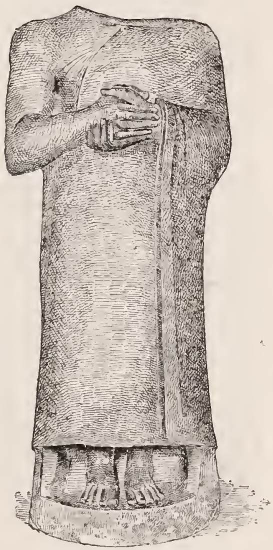


Fig. 30.—Statue of Gudea, Tell-Loh (Louvre).

According to M. Perrot, the Vulture Pillar represents primitive Chaldæan art. Nine statues discovered at Tell-Loh, and bearing the name of a governor of the province, Gudea, represent archaic Chaldæan art ; they are votive statues, tributes of homage to a divinity, as the position of the hands, folded against the waist, indicates ; the personages, whose heads, unfortunately, are lacking, whether seated or standing, are clothed in long robes without folds (fig. 30). It is difficult to see in these figures in the round, much advance upon the

figures in bas-relief upon the Vulture Pillar; the dry, angular anatomy of the arms, elbows, and hands, the heavy squareness of the shoulders, the thick-set build of the bodies, the great flat uncouth feet, teach no new lesson. The sculptors are perhaps a little more skilful than the sculptors of the Pillar, but not much; and doubtless the progress, if there is any, must be found in the size of the statue, not in the subject (for it is perhaps easier to fashion a single statue in the round than a group in bas-relief), in the manner, and also in the material, for hard stone has taken the place of soft, and lends itself better to the niceties of form.



Fig. 31.—Chaldæan archaic bas-relief (Louvre).

Two separate heads, round and beardless, the one bald, the other wearing a cocked cap, are modelled with considerable freedom; but the features are coarse and expressionless, and the type, upon the whole, is much the same and little superior to the heads of the corpses on the Pillar. Finally, to quote only one example, the figure in bas-relief which M. Perrot ascribes to that same archaic period, appears to us just as naïve and rudimentary as that of the primitive period. The same Semitic features characterise the heads of the persons, and

their structure is not less defective; but just as in the case of the vultures, we observe that the body of a cow which serves to decorate the upright support of a harp in the lower division, is much truer than the bodies of the men (fig. 31).

As for classic art, it is represented by a series of little statues, of bas-reliefs, little figures of alabaster, earthenware, and bronze, in which M. Perrot discovers very advanced powers of execution, which retain, even in the smallest details of decoration and relief, a delicacy which is often quite remarkable. The little head of Tell-Loh (fig. 32) in steatite, which M. Perrot calls a real jewel, does not seem, in our opinion, to merit this eulogy, nor especially to mark an advance upon the larger heads of the so-called archaic period. We find in it the same characteristics, — general heaviness, the rounded, inexpressive softness of the Semitic features.



Fig. 32.—Head from Tell-Loh (Louvre).

Another monument, the foot of a vessel, round whose circular base are squatted little figures, seems to us a very insignificant monument to characterise a classic period, defined as "the period when execution is at once free and instructed, when the hand of the artist, having equal control over itself and its material, can give a faithful rendering of every natural aspect which offers charm and interest."

The history of Assyrian sculpture, the offspring of Chaldæan sculpture, only begins at the end of the twelfth century, with a bas-relief cut in a rock near one of the

sources of the Tigris. It is found two centuries later at Kalah (Nimroud), where the powerful Asshur-nasir-pal caused splendid monuments to be reared. M. Perrot attributes the sculptures of Kalah to a first Assyrian school. "One of the characteristics and merits of these sculptures is that they include nothing unnecessary, and that bas-relief there rises to that degree of abstraction to which only those peoples have brought it, who, like the Greeks, have most perfectly seized its spirit and special conditions." "That sobriety has brought good fortune to the sculptor," adds M. Perrot; "doubtless his work is still infected with faults which are the ground of the inferiority of Assyrian art when we compare it with Egyptian and above all with Greek art; but nevertheless by the freedom of this method, it gains a lordly style and air of grandeur to which the more intricate and apparently more instructed works of the later period do not so often rise." These compositions date from the end of the Sargonides, kings descended from Sargon, who founded the dynasty at the end of the eighth century.

The palace of Khorsabad has furnished most of the monuments of this school; M. Perrot finds no difficulty in detecting that the art of the Sargonides does not differ in many points from its predecessor; but "there is a slight advance, though all in niceties of detail: the forms of the bodies are more slender, the relief is less bold, and there is more precision in the rendering of the muscles, more care in accessories, and a certain attempt at elegance." There is, on the other hand, a slight retrogression, displayed in "less firm and free" execution, in relief which

is stronger but at the same time a little heavier and "thicker."

For our part, we find it difficult to establish dis-



Fig. 33.—Asshur-nasir-pal offering a libation (Louvre).

tinctions, however vague, between the bas-relief of Nimroud, for instance, which represents Asshur-nasir-pal offering a libation (fig. 33), and the bas-relief of

Sargon, where the king is seen followed by an eunuch (fig. 34). The faces of the two bearded kings, and likewise those of the two other persons, are alike, and are exactly of the type of all the others whom we have hitherto surveyed; the technique of the nude is the same, the muscles are indicated in the same conventional fashion; the same care is displayed in dealing with the folds and ornaments of the long Oriental robes; if the two bas-reliefs had formed part of the same frieze, no one would have felt any astonishment. Between these works, if there is a chronological difference, there is no artistic one. At the most it must be admitted, that since King Sennacherib, and above all under Asshur-bani-pal, Assyrian art has modified its tendencies: the background of the bas-reliefs is filled up with accessories borrowed from Nature, trees, woods, and rivers, or from human industry; and besides, the figures lengthen out in the effort after elegance. "It is then that Assyrian art is most ámbitious; never hitherto has it been so tempted by the beauty of action; never has it tried so boldly to render all that is unforeseen and surprising in movement." The actors are more numerous and more crowded together; the artist does not shrink from the attempt to depict the most complicated details, those which offer the greatest difficulties. For example, the feast of Asshur-bani-pal is a very good instance of a complicated scene; the furniture, the bed, the table, the seats, the climbing vine loaded with grapes, are richly charged, almost overloaded with detail; the stuffs are decorated more elaborately than ever. But the human types, their dress and adornment, have not changed any more than



Fig. 34.—Sargon and his Vizier (Louvre).

their short heavy forms; the movements of the kings about to drink are as naïve and unskilful as those of the most ancient figures in the Chaldæan bas-reliefs.

This art had no decline; it was cut off abruptly by the fall of Nineveh under the reign of the son of Asshur-bani-pal (between 633 and 593 B.C.).

We believe, therefore, that the historical development

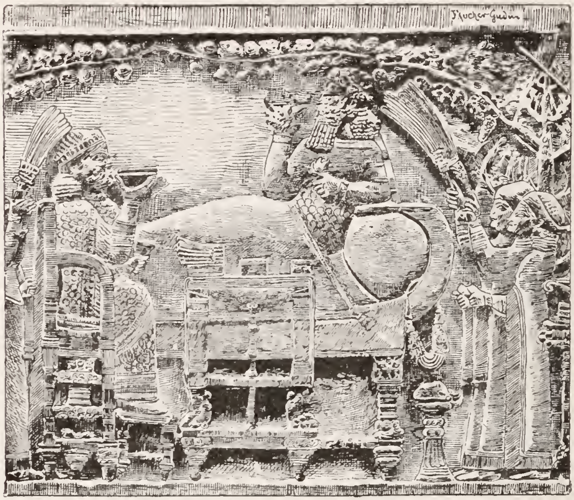


Fig. 35.—Feast of Asshur-bani-pal (British Museum).

of sculpture in Mesopotamia is not the supremely interesting thing to study; this art must be regarded as a stationary art, subject, like so many other Eastern things, to the fate of petrifaction; but there is not the less profit and pleasure in studying the different themes upon which the artists have made variations, and the principal characters which this unchanging art sought to embody.

The Egyptians dreamed of death, of the life of the tombs which succeeded the terrestrial one, and tried to ensure, by exact portraits, eternal existence to man; the Chaldæans, and Assyrians, holding almost the same beliefs, were less occupied with the mysterious future. The nature of the soil, besides, where rocks and quarries are rare, lent itself neither to the same construction of tombs nor to funeral cults. The real interest of both these peoples was their king, his victories, his triumphs; the principal effort of the sculptors is put forth in representing these kings victorious, triumphant; their art is the art of the historian. This must be considered in some detail. The king, for the Chaldæans and their descendants, is not Asshur-nasirpal, Sargon, or Sennacherib, a monarch with a character and life of his own; it is the ideal king. It is not Shalmaneser, conqueror of Bactria and India; Sargon, conqueror of Syria; it is the victor, the conqueror, as such; the name of their master, his valour, and individual glory matter little; he is king—that is sufficient, and says everything. His character is known beforehand, clearly fixed once for all, like his royal attributes, like the etiquette of his court; since the race is warlike, since it delights in arms and in distant adventurous expeditions, since it has gained glory under valiant kings, war is considered the king's chief prerogative, and it is the warrior, above all, that the sculptors will reproduce. The hunter comes next, for the hunt is the type of war; then the high priest and judge. The king, in Chaldæo-Assyrian sculpture, appears in his various capacities, but as a type, not as an individual.

This conventional type is extremely curious. On

foot, on horseback, in his chariot, the king, whatever his name, can be recognized by his curled hair and beard, by the high tiara or royal band which crowns him, by the sumptuous robes, decked with embroidery and precious stones, which hang down to his heels. The richness of his dress and finery, and the profusion of his ornaments, are like distinctive signs of his power; he seems to wish, by the luxury of his highly-coloured stuffs and delicate borders, by the brilliance of the trimmings and applied gold, to dazzle the people who gaze at him and bow their faces to the dust in the humble attitude of Oriental adoration.

But the king is distinguished solely by these details. Accompanied generally by the highest officials of his court, his viziers, his eunuchs, his only distinctions are his attributes and the predominant part which he plays in the scenes represented. His face expresses no majesty, nor his attitude a more royal confidence than the rest; his features, his bodily form, and even the general disposition of his costume, would not adequately reveal the monarch. The sculptors have formed a simple and unvarying conception of these masters, the mighty men of the earth, their oppressors; face downwards in the dust, they have no dared to look their likeness in the face, for fear of being crushed; they have not discerned the individual in the monarch or the minister, and can only represent in vague, general lines a human form of some kind, which never changes, clothed in fine garments and the attributes of power.

Above the kings there are the gods. "To suggest to the mind the idea of Divine power and perfection," says M. Perrot, "the arts of design have only one

resource—to make use of a combination of forms borrowed of necessity from mortal nature, but always at some point incomplete and, as it were, unfinished." To represent these divinities, the Chaldæans and the Assyrians, like the Egyptians, combined the forms of men with those of animals. Their religion was sombre and fearful, delighting in the mysteries of magic. Mystic ceremonies were necessary to the worship of the innumerable spirits of good and evil, of darkness and light, beings that peopled the universe, untamed genii, so fearful that no one dared to define them, much less to implore their aid or turn aside their evil influence save through the mediation of the initiated, and by the most absurd practices of sorcery.

The religious images most frequently met with in Mesopotamia are representations of these very genii so much dreaded; they are the demons, figured in bas-relief, in little statues of bronze or earthenware. Take, for instance, a bas-relief from the palace of Asshur-bani-pal at Konyunjik, where three fierce demons are represented. "Upon a human body," says M. Perrot, "the artist has placed a distorted head, the head of an angry lion, surmounted by dog's ears and horse's hair; the hands brandish long daggers; as to the feet, they are replaced by the hooked talons of a bird of prey, widely spread upon the ground, which they appear to scratch with their claws." At other times, the demon assumes an eagle's claws and wings. Then he no longer appears so violent nor so cruel, and his calm attitude gives the idea of some friendly genius.

The combination of forms is especially curious in a statuette of the Louvre, the image of Isuv, *the Demon of*

the South-West Wind (fig. 36),—" a wind that for Mesopotamia was scorching and injurious beyond any other; the ring which the little figure wears upon the head served to suspend it before the window or door of the house; owing to this precaution, the dwelling provided with this talisman was exempt from the malign influences of the scorching desert blasts. The sculptor has wished to render as odious and as monstrous as possible this tyrant of the air, whose wrath he has often experienced and cursed; he has succeeded only too well. Nothing more fearful could well be beheld than this grinning human head which is nothing but a half-decayed, parched skull; the great bird's eyes and goat's horns which are upon it add to its deformity. Lean and emaciated, with some indications of hair upon the right flank, the body is more like that of a bat than a man. The large flat hands at the end of the arms, with their short fingers, look like claws; as for the feet, they are



Fig. 36.—Isuv, the "Burner," demon of the south-west wind (Louvre).

replaced in the frankest manner by the talons of a bird of prey" (M. Perrot).

Isuv, the "burner," was the friend and companion of Dibbara, the plague deity; this latter, with his two companions, Nergal, the war god, and Laz, the goddess of famine, were worshipped at Kutha (the modern Tell-Ibrahim), and together formed the dread "death trinity" of Chaldæan legend. "Isuv" is said to have come from the land of Khikki, *i.e.*, the desert of the south-west; his usual epithet is that of "the street traverser;" he was probably the grim fever demon who, accompanying the hot south-west wind across the Arabian desert and the marshes of the Persian Gulf, brought fever and death in his train.

Here all the traits collected by the sculptor contribute to the horror of the effect; frequently, in figuring gods of superior character, the artist borrows from animals whatever in their bodies gives an idea of force and grandeur—the eagle's wings, the body and horns of the bull; and from man, whatever raises him above the rest of creation—the intelligent, expressive face, lighted by reason and the life of the soul. Certainly the most famous monuments of Assyrian sculpture are the great winged bulls with human heads which guarded the gates and bordered the avenues of the palaces on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Fig. 37 represents one of these monsters, which has been brought from the palace of Sargon (at Khorsabad) to the museum of the Louvre. We recognise the royal head, which has been described already, crowned with the tiara, adorned with wig and beard arranged in strictly regular crimps and

curls. The animal forms are here happily united, and the sight of this divine monster certainly awakes high thoughts of force and grandeur, almost of majesty.

Other demons, again, approach more and more to the human form; one of them, represented in a bas-relief of the Louvre, only partakes of the animal in the bull's horns and the wings. For the rest, he is dressed like a king; his attitude is a classic one of adoration. Let



Fig. 37.—Winged bull of Khorsabad (Louvre).

us advance a step farther. Nebo, for instance, god of intelligence and prophecy, comes closer and closer to the likeness of a king. Horns still decorate his tiara, but he no longer has wings, and his hands are folded against his breast like those of the royal statues of Tell-Loh. Finally, Ishtar, the goddess of fertility, the Oriental prototype of Astarte, is figured as a naked woman, borrowing nothing of the animal nature; she

is pressing her breast with her two hands to make the mother's milk flow. This representation of the divinity as a naked woman is, however, exceptional and rare; she brings us at once nearer to Greek conceptions.

Thus above the kings and ministers are the gods; lower than kings and their ministers are mere ordinary mortals. In the representations of such the uniformity of Mesopotamian sculpture appears once more. If these ordinary mortals serve the prince, his viziers, or his favourite eunuchs, if they form part of his train, they are only distinguished from the monarch and the great men of his court by the humble part they play; they carry needful things, such as seats or fans, but the type of face is invariably the same. Their court-dress is, with rare exceptions, no less rich and loaded with ornaments. One class of the people only attracted enough attention for the sculptors to modify the routine on their account; they are the soldiers, those favourites of a victorious king. The necessities also of their trade imposed upon them distinctive dress and a warlike equipment, a shorter robe, pointed helmet, arms for defence and attack; their attitudes also have more variety, as the movements of battles demand; but the same well-known face persists and is repeated, with a wearisome monotony.

Woman, as we might expect, remembering the secluded and utterly subordinate life which she has never ceased to lead in the East—woman, the servant, rather the slave, and in no way the companion of man—only appears in the series of sculptured monuments at very rare intervals. We will quote the bas-relief of Kouyunjik, a good example, for the wife of Asshur-bani-pal is

seen taking part in the feast of her lord and master; but it must be remarked that we recognize a woman in this personage with the Semitic visage so like those of the men, with the falling garments checquered with embroideries like the men's clothes, not so much by inspecting the type represented (fig. 35), as owing to reasons which are based on conventions apart from that of sculpture.

Below men, in the scale of beings, come animals. It is in reproducing their forms that the Chaldæans and the Babylonians chiefly excelled. It is possible to watch and study animals, in all the simplicity of their natural state, without the jealous veil of clothing, without the illusions of finery. Their bodies always appear just as they came into the world, as they have grown, as they have developed; these models were always before the eyes of these Mesopotamian sculptors, though never "posing" in the technical sense of the word, but always joining in the familiar life of the people, and thus artists, as well as people, learned to know them.

The Chaldæo-Assyrian sculptor knew how to express the forms, motions, and the character of animals with a precision and variety which is astonishing, considering his inaptitude for varying representations of men.

Domestic animals, above all the horse and the dog, are figured with rare felicity. We would point, for example, to the large, short, thick-set mastiff, with defiant nose and proud tail, drawn in the shape of a trumpet, and who is being led by a slave; and to the barking hounds of Asshur-bani-pal (fig. 38). The horses harnessed to the chariot of Sennacherib, or Asshur-bani-pal, small,

slender, and nervous, with head alert, and swift hoof, prancing proudly on their light feet, brilliantly harnessed and tricked out and proud to draw the king,



Fig. 38.—The hounds of Asshur-bani-pal (British Museum).

might almost be ancestors of the famous horses of the frieze of the Parthenon. On the contrary, the little wild horses, perhaps onagers, reproduced in fig. 39, free

and leaping, are flinging their legs about joyfully, and nothing could be more natural than the action of the head and outstretched neck, the hind-legs in full gallop, and the tail in the wind. Goats, camels, and birds are rendered with the same success.

The wild creatures that lived on the banks of the great rivers were a great source of inspiration to sculptors ; but, above all, the most terrible and also the

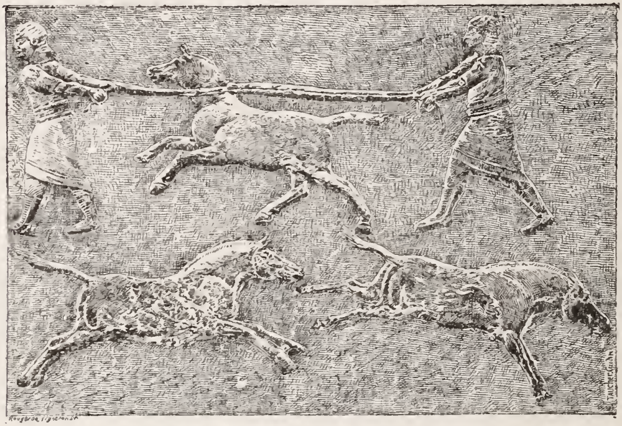


Fig. 39.—Onager hunt (British Museum).

grandest creature, the lion, whether he is seen in repose, like the little bronze lion of the Louvre, seated, grinding his teeth, with paws already stretched out, prepared for the struggle ; or as he issues furious from his cage, his body gathered together, crouching in readiness to spring ; or, again, wounded, cowering on his hindquarters ; "the arrow has pierced the lungs, or severed some main artery ; the creature is vomiting great mouthfuls of blood ; the terrors of death are

already upon him. Yet the back is arched; with paws set close together and clutching at the ground, he pulls himself together and gathers up his failing forces; he draws himself up in a last effort not to give way and roll over on the ground" (M. Perrot) (fig. 40).

No art is without conventions; the sculpture of Chaldæa and Assyria had its own,—very naïve, however, and sometimes also very original, as M. Perrot



Fig. 40.—Wounded lion (Louvre).

has noted with much precision, and explained very happily. Following his lead, it remains to note the predominance of bas-relief, and in the bas-reliefs the almost exclusive presence of figures in profile. Sculpture in the round was only considered suitable for representing gods, or the king, on one of the rare occasions when he appeared alone, unaccompanied by his train. But, as a rule, the gods only appeared in presence of their worshippers, the king only when

engaged in some of his royal affairs, at prayer, in council, feasting, hunting, or fighting, surrounded by his court and subjects.

Now bas-relief is necessary for displaying scenes with many actors. The number of slabs which made it up were practically indefinite, and their size could much more easily be varied than those of the blocks from which figures were hewn in the round; and furthermore, if one long strip was not enough for the evolution of some tremendous picture, a procession, say, or a battle, it was easy to divide the surface for decoration into several strips or tiers. Nevertheless the Chaldæo-Assyrians treated bas-relief with great freedom; the relief can vary from a few millimètres* up to twenty or twenty-five centimètres, without any portion ever being detached from the background.

All the sculptors are not so naïve as the author of the Vulture Pillar; some know how to arrange several figures one behind the other, instead of piling them up vertically, to indicate several planes; but they rarely succeed in making the motions of the different parts of a figure agree so as to obtain a really natural attitude. The bodies are sometimes presented from a front view, sometimes from three-quarters, but the face remains in profile, and, for the same reasons before given, the eye is still drawn from the front.

The fact is, the Chaldæans and the Assyrians always remained unskilful at rendering the illusions of perspective. The eye may easily enough become accustomed to the strange forms of human bodies drawn altogether contrary to nature; it may acquire, pretty

* 1 millimètre = ·03937 of an inch; 1 centimètre = ·3937 of an inch.

quickly, in studying long rows of Egyptian, Chaldæan, or Assyrian bas-reliefs, a special education. But it takes perhaps somewhat longer to get used to the conventional representation of landscape and material objects; as, for example, water, indicated by wavy lines, upon which fish are laid; trees, indicated by shafts like herring-bones; fortresses, figured as high vertical pillars, surmounted by warriors who have no space to move, or even by two concentric circles in a vertical plane.

Another convention, more than naïve, and exceedingly annoying, is that of covering a number of personages in round sculpture, or in bas-relief, with long bands of cuneiform writing. "We cannot but feel some surprise," says M. Perrot, "when we see the wide band of cuneiform writing across all these bas-reliefs, which the scribe has come to engrave when once the sculpture was finished, with no fear of encroaching upon the outlines or spoiling the illusion which ought to be attained by the representation of the living figure. This arrangement is explained by the wholly narrative and historical character of Assyrian art. It bears witness not less, however, to the contempt for mere effect which is one of the characteristics of what we may term the archaic art of Assyria."

At other times convention takes a happier turn. We must mark as truly original the rendering of the bulls and monsters which are used to guard the doors of the palaces, and which are very aptly described by M. Perrot thus: "These images are a kind of compromise of a most original character between bas-relief and the round. Seen from the front, the lions and bulls appear to be statues; the head, the breast, and the limbs stand

out as boldly, and are as amply developed, as in Nature itself; if the position is slightly altered to the right or the left the view changes; it may then be perceived that the foreparts only of the animals are clear of the block of alabaster or limestone, the rest of the body is attached to it as if enchained or imprisoned; the outlines of that solely are indicated in bas-relief on the two sides of the enormous slab. Thus half, or rather a quarter, of the statue is in a relief of forty to fifty centimètres. . . . Nor is this all. . . . The figure, according as it is viewed from the front or the side, produces a different impression; from the front, it appears in an attitude of repose, the two feet being in the same plane; from the side, it appears to be in motion; it is their way of preventing the legs of the same pair from covering and concealing one another." The effect of these five-footed monsters is not unpleasing; it even requires some observation to detect the deception, because the bulls and lions were so placed at the entrance to the palaces of Babylon and Nineveh, that they were never seen except absolutely from the front or absolutely in profile.

To sum up, Chaldæo-Assyrian sculpture leaves with us a very simple and a very clear impression; it is a stationary art, chained down throughout the whole course of its history to the traditions of its infancy, to naïve and unskilful conventions; monotony is its worst fault. We cannot accuse the Mesopotamian sculptors of a crime, in having produced nothing beautiful,—however much we wish it, we cannot point to a single work, be it statue, statuette, or bas-relief, which is truly and completely beautiful,—for these

artists were not free to do otherwise, or better, than they have done. Chaldæo-Assyrian art is before everything a national art; it only treats two subjects, religion and royalty. Now the peoples of Mesopotamia have never dreamed of any but monstrous and deformed gods, of mysterious genii and demons, whom the sublime beauty of the human body idealised did not suit as it suited the gods of Greece; and as to the kings, of whom, as we have said, the type was traditional—who could never be represented except by an official image—it was thought much better to honour them in a large number of statues and bas-reliefs, than by the superior quality of a single masterpiece. The sculptor had to produce much and very rapidly, and always to represent the same scenes; these three requirements are the mortal enemies of advance and beauty.

III.

PHŒNICIA AND CYPRUS—THE HITTITES—MEDIA AND PERSIA.

The primitive sculptors of Egypt and Chaldæa possibly had no masters; in these two countries, the oldest in Oriental civilization (this study does not include the peoples of the extreme east, Japanese, Chinese, and Indians, the differences of race, morals, and culture being too wide), art does not seem in the beginning to have felt foreign influences. This is one of the points which render it so intensely original; and perhaps, too, it is owing to this that it was so long imprisoned in monotonous mediocrity. The Greeks were the first to attain plastic perfection, and Greek sculpture, as will be seen, was not an art born and developed quite by itself, independently of outside influences. The Greeks owe something, however little, to the Egyptians and Chaldæo-Babylonians; but the question is, whether this influence was directly felt, or whether some people did not serve as intermediaries. Both the Egyptians and the Mesopotamians had immediate disciples, who were themselves more or less given to innovations, to modifying the teaching of their masters, to new interpretation of the forms of their models. These disciples, that is to say, were more or less original; and, therefore, when they came into contact

with the Greeks, may well have transmitted to them many ideas and forms which they themselves would never have dreamed of searching for, nor succeeded in finding, even in their actual birthplace.

These peoples, however, rarely deserve the name of creators; the best known and most important among them, the Phœnicians, do not deserve it at all. They play a very simple and a very special part. It has been said that the Phœnicians were the "brokers" of antiquity all along the coasts of the Mediterranean. Settled in the narrow strip of Syria, crowded in between the sea and Lebanon, they were masters of the passes through which the caravans defiled on their way from Arabia and the shores of the Euphrates. Their principal towns were those famous ports, Sidon, Tyre, Berytus, Gebel, and Arad, from whence favourable winds carry a light ship in the course of a few hours to the mouths of the Nile, to the coasts of Cyprus and Asia Minor. The situation of their country was largely favourable to the natural taste of this sensitive people for commerce. Good sailors, clever at a bargain, they always delighted in the trade of retailing, which insured them very high profits. In addition to this, as their numbers increased with their riches, they gladly established fresh commercial centres on various hospitable shores, and the extreme east owed much to them in the foundation of populous colonies, in the Syrtes of Libya as well as on the shores of Hesperia and the Celtic countries, of towns whose sites were marvellously well chosen, and which still live on and bear the marks of Phœnician commercial genius.

But the life of the trader and his love of money are

not favourable to the culture of the fine arts. The Phœnicians only loved the arts of other peoples in proportion as they could traffic in their products, buying them at a low price to take far away and sell again at a high profit. As for creating new forms themselves and for their own delight, they never dreamed of such a thing. What is to be found among them, beyond foreign importations, are hybrid works, a clumsy and quite irrational mixture of types and subjects, partly Egyptian, partly Chaldæo-Assyrian.

To judge from the small collection of fragments which have reached us, sculptured monuments must have been very rare in Phœnicia. One such, for instance, is a stele found at Amrit. A figure, standing with the left foot upon the head of a lion, the right upon the tail, which is doubled back: he holds in his left hand a lion's whelp, which he is about to knock on the head with his uplifted right hand. The lion is walking upon the summit of a mountain, which is indicated by a sort of scaly surface; in the space above the man a sphere upheld by a crescent is to be seen, and higher still, another sphere, adorned with upturned wings. There is no mistaking the nature of the monument upon inspection: it is half Egyptian and half Assyrian. The *schenti*, which the man wears from the waist to the knees; his coiffure, which recalls the *pschent* and the *uræus;* the gesture of the uplifted right hand, so frequent in bas-reliefs of the Theban period,—are elements borrowed directly from Egypt. The lion upon which the figure—probably a god—treads, the conventional mountains upon which the lion is walking, the whelp which the god is in act to slay (recalling,

by the way, the lion-strangler at Khorsabad); the bent club, which is to be the instrument of death; the winged sphere; better still, the short thickset forms and the heavy style of the bas-relief,—all go back to the banks of the Euphrates. Nothing here is peculiar to Phœnicia, unless it be the disc and crescent placed above the helmet, which M. Perrot calls the coat of arms of the Phœnician people.

It is needless to multiply examples; there is nothing to be done but to analyse elements in the same way; no history can be more quickly written than that of Phœnician sculpture.

But it must not be forgotten that the whole of Phœnicia is not to be found on the Syrian coast, and perhaps it might be thought that the colonies have been better endowed than the mother-state; and on shores yet more western and remote, a sculpture might have arisen less slavish to Egypt and Assyria, having a style of its own. Far from their native country, lost among barbarians, and coming rarely into contact with the civilised neighbours of the mother-country, the Phœnicians of Carthage, Malta, Sicily, and Spain might have been stimulated, by their comparative isolation and the need of self-sufficiency, into creating a distinct and independent art. But there is no trace of it.

Spanish soil has not yet given up the Phœnician secrets which it hides; but that of Africa and Sardinia has spoken. At Carthage—with the exception of funeral stelæ or votive offerings found in great numbers, to be discussed presently—sculpture is represented solely by little figures of terra-cotta or enamel, and these, the minute productions of the industry rather

than the art of Phœnicia, are outside the present subject. The small Sardinian bronzes, on the contrary, which have been discovered among numerous terra-cottas, at least deserve mention. But there is no convincing proof that these little warriors, or huntsmen, elongated, stretched, and twisted in utter defiance of nature and anatomy, covered with odd garments, adorned with horned helmets or tiny caps, armed with bows and arrows, clubs, or heavy axes, or those singular idols, with four arms and three eyes,—really are Phœnician works. In spite of some vague resemblance in style and technique, which might connect them with bronzes found in Phœnicia, they rather suggest to us native productions.

Malta and Sicily are not less favoured than Carthage or Sardinia. But the island of Cyprus holds a place apart in the artistic as well as the political history of Phœnicia. Towards the twentieth century, it is supposed, the coasts of Syria were occupied by the original Phœnicians from the shores of the Persian Gulf. Soon overcrowded in their narrow territory, the neighbouring island of Cyprus, whose brown hilltops stand up against a clear sky on the extreme horizon of Arad or Berytus, received the first overflow from their towns; and until the tenth century, when other adventurous traders, Greeks, landed upon its shores, this rich and fertile island, indented with sheltered harbours, remained the exclusive and privileged possession of its peaceful invaders.

Doubtless, the delightful climate, the gentle, easy life, the idleness—or at least the relaxed activity—which follows when large fortunes have been hardly won,

perhaps, also, intercourse with other happily gifted native races, was an antidote to the prosaic practical nature of the Phœnicio-Cypriotes. Without losing their taste for commerce or enterprise, a door was opened in their minds for the culture of art; they became zealous admirers of plastic works; sculptors arose in abundance in the country whose rich quarries provided a soft limestone in plenty, especially suited to the chisel. Those archæologists who, since the year 1860, after the example of General Cesnola, Consul for the United States, have not ceased to explore the towns and necropolises of the island, have brought to light hundreds of statues and pillars, not to speak of vases and terra-cottas, and the rich soil gives hope still of fine harvests.

Thus, the exceptional nature of Phœnician sculpture in Cyprus has been established. Unfortunately, the effort was followed only by a partial success. The Cypriote statues may be numerous, but they are none the more original; the style, like that of the Syrian works, is a hybrid and bastard style. At most, one feels, with M. Perrot, that Cypriote sculpture gives the impression of an originality which it does not possess. This illusion is due to the fashion in which it used and blended the elements which it borrowed.

Take, for example, a statue (fig. 41) discovered at Athienau by General Cesnola. Without being a servile copy of an Assyrian work, the experienced eye catches a family likeness with the works which were studied in the previous chapter. "The coiffure"—we borrow these remarks directly from M. Perrot—" presents very

marked analogies. It is a stuff cap, conical in shape, terminating in a peak, which is folded back. This stuff seems generally to have been decorated with parallel stripes; the cap has ears. . . . Moreover, the genera shape of the cap is very like that of certain Assyrian helmets. . . . The beard is not divided, as in Assyria, into several layers; but it is all separated into curls, so regular and symmetrical that one might think they had been through the tongs. The clothing, like that of the people of the Euphrates valley, covers and conceals the entire body; it is composed of a long tunic falling almost to the feet, and of a small mantle thrown obliquely over the shoulder, like the Greek mantle to be noted later; but here, this part of the dress is quite flatly rendered as in an Oriental statue." The relations which certainly exist are sufficiently remote. Further, certain serious differences must be noted: first, we have to do with a statue; round sculpture was in great favour in Cyprus, whilst bas-relief was almost universal in Assyria; it is true that the Cypriote statues are for the most part flat behind, doubtless because they stood with the back to the walls. The next point is more important. "The modelling is not of the same quality here as in Assyria; it is less hard and less bold; there is not the same vigorous rendering of the muscles; the detail of dress is not carried so far. The independence



Fig. 41.—Cypriote statue in the Assyrian style (New York Museum).

of the artist is shown by certain traits far enough removed from Assyrian usage; thus the rather long hair is flattened behind the nape of the neck, and sometimes is entirely hidden in front under the cap. The beard is frequently reduced to a very simple mass, divided like a fan; the curls are only indicated at the ends by their spiral form. The upper lip, which in Assyria is shaded by a thick moustache with separated ends curling upwards, is here always bare" (M. Perrot). A very natural conclusion follows, that the influence of Assyrian sculpture upon that of Cyprus was not immediate, but exerted through an intermediary, namely, Phœnician art. The Cypriotes have only had before their eyes imitations of the great bas-reliefs of Nineveh or Babylon, imitations fabricated in their mother-country, or little figures and statuettes of pure Assyrian origin. Now, in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates these small productions are always much less finely modelled, and less worked out in detail, than is the case with the great decorative works.

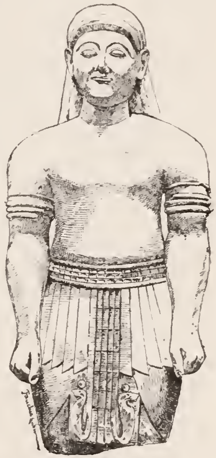


Fig. 42. — Cypriote statue in the Egyptian style (New York Museum).

A statue found in the same excavations of Athienau is shown in fig. 42. But for the limestone, which cannot be mistaken for Egyptian limestone, it seems at first sight to be Egyptian. The upright attitude of the body, the head held high and stiffly, the hanging

arms and closed fists, are already familiar. The hair, spread behind the ears and flattened on the top of the head under a cloth which brings the *klaft* to mind; the garment, falling from the waist to the middle of the thigh, is very like the *schenti;* and the two *uræi*, back to back, which decorate it, are purely Egyptian emblems. We note, however, that the bust is not naked, in strict Egyptian fashion; it is covered with a clinging chemise with short sleeves, which yet is so fine and close-fitting that it gives the illusion of being flesh. The two bracelets, which never adorn Egyptian statues, must also be noted. Judging from this example, and many others which could be brought forward, the sculptors must have borrowed more directly from Egyptian art than from that of Assyria, just as, in other relations, the Cypriotes and the Egyptians, being near neighbours, had no need of intermediaries. However, this very frank imitation was never slavish; the poses, dress, and ornaments, coming from Egypt, have undergone in the process more or less important modifications, which assert some independence among the artists of the island. Also the style of the *Egypticized* works has something rounded, a little soft, even relaxed about it, which is like a sign-manual; also the very type of the Cypriotes, gentle and simple, distinguishes them sharply from the Pharaohs and the fellahin.

As might be expected, numbers of statues are connected by certain details with Assyria, by certain others with Egypt—partaking thus of two characters. In the statue represented by fig. 43, the image of some Cypriote prince (found at Athienau), the Egyptian

style prevails, and that very strongly, as is proved by the general attitude of the body, the naked bust, the large necklaces in rows upon the breast, the *schenti* decorated by two *uræi*, and the style, too, of the square shoulders, of the figure, and the rather slender limbs. The coiffure, however, which is a little like the *pschent* (the remains of an *uræus* may perhaps be traced just above the brow), recalls above all the conical cap which has just been described; and the hair and beard, regularly curled in little ringlets, are of a fashion foreign to Egypt, but which were almost indispensable with the Assyrian monarchs.



Fig. 43.—Cypriote statue of blended styles (New York Museum).

A large number of the monuments of Phœnician sculpture remains have purposely been omitted so far. They form a very distinct series, one full of interest, for they spring from an imitation no longer of Assyrian or Egyptian work, but of Greek. *À priori*, in the case of very many Cypriote statues, in the Louvre and New York Museums, where the characteristics of archaic Greek works—such as will be pointed out in the next book—are clearly displayed, one might be tempted to think that such statues are of earlier date than the first manifestations of that archaism in Greece. Hence the conclusion naturally follows that the primitive sculptors of Greece were inspired

by the Cypriote sculptors, that they went to them to get motives and plastic forms. But this theory can no longer number any adherents. One of the great merits of a French archæologist, a delicate critic, M. Heuzey, will always be that he has proved, beyond question, that, far from having inspired the Greeks, the Cypriotes owe to them as much and more than to the Egyptians or Assyrians.

The Greeks, as we have said, were in contact with the Cypriotes from the tenth century; if they owe anything to their neighbours—with whom, indeed, those Greeks who settled in the island were not slow to mingle—it is their distant acquaintance with Oriental art, by which, as we shall see, they profited. But of the two peoples brought into contact, it was certainly the Phœnicians who were likely to imitate the other, in matters of art; for the Phœnicians did not possess the creative genius which so soon rendered the Greeks unrivalled. The best-known Cypriote statues, those in the Greek style, would only have for us the same kind of interest as those in the Egyptian and Assyrian styles, did not all that relates to Greek art gain, *ipso facto*, rare value and an importance of the first rank.

For this reason it is tempting to multiply examples, but as restrictions are necessary, we must limit ourselves to showing the reader the statue famous under the name of The Priest with the Dove (fig. 44), which comes from Athienau, and is now in the Museum of New York. It represents a man, standing, the right foot slightly advanced, with his two hands stretched out; he holds a cup in the one, on the other a dove is perched; he wears the conical cap, beneath which

little curls escape upon the brow, and from which three long, symmetrical tresses fall upon the chest to the right and left; he has no moustache, but he wears a long, carefully-curled beard. He wears, apparently, three garments, a plaited shirt, which falls to the naked feet, a tunic whose borders are embroidered with palm-leaves, just falling below the knees, and last of all a great cloak, which is draped about the bust and the waist, and hangs down on either side in parallel masses, symmetrically folded. If the reader will look on to chapter ii. in the next book (figs. 56, 57, 71, etc.), he will be easily convinced that the dress as well as the posture of The Priest with the Dove are familiar in Greek, and particularly in Attic, sculpture. As to the head, if the cap is a conical head-dress, if the beard is rather Oriental (see, however, the head reproduced in fig. 85), the falling locks are Greek, and much more the type of face, in which the large, oblique eyes are in the archaic style of smiling faces. A few Cypriote statues, indeed, smile freely with that quaint expression which is currently known as the "Æginetan smile."



Fig. 44.—The Priest with the Dove (New York Museum).

But it is not only in Cyprus that Phœnician art has felt the influence of early Greek art. The terra-cottas, from whatever part of Phœnicia or her colonies they are collected, are very frequently Greek in

execution and subject, and were it not for the clay, which differs in grain and colour, they might easily be mistaken for direct importations. But to keep to large sculpture, a certain bas-relief found at Tyre, certain human-shaped sarcophagi discovered at Solunta, for instance, in Sicily, as well as many others of Sidonian origin, would seem to be the works of Greek artists, Greek style is revealed in them with such frankness and precision. It is needless to say that we speak only of the most ancient works; it is only too evident that in the classical era, when Cyprus is almost entirely Hellenised, Cypriote sculpture, although retaining by force of habit some relics of Oriental sculpture, is now merely a branch of Grecian sculpture.

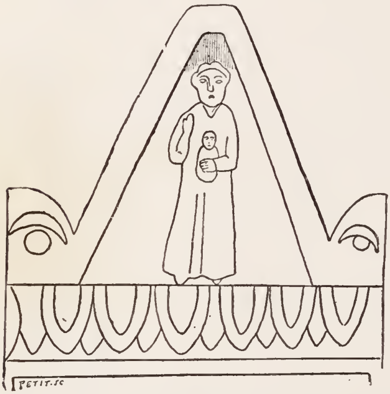


Fig. 45.—Carthaginian stele (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

Finally, it is impossible to leave this subject without recalling to mind that a very large majority, if not the whole, of the funeral stelæ of Carthage, of which there is now so rich a collection—stelæ, coarsely adorned with figures, engraved or sculptured with little art,—belong to Phœnician sculpture in virtue of their subjects, and to Greek sculpture by virtue of many details in ornamentation. The stele represented in fig. 45 was chosen at hazard from the Bibliothèque

Nationale, at Paris. It is Greek in form, inasmuch as it is surmounted by a pediment, flanked by *acroteria*, and has below a cornice composed of egg-ornament. The persons drawn in the pediment, however, can only be explained by the Phœnician religion, and likewise the crescent and the globe, which have been noted before.

Thus, to sum up, the spirit of the Phœnicians has not belied itself for one moment, throughout the course of twenty centuries; they did not covet artistic glory, and did not try to create; their sculpture, particularly, had, since its birth, remained subject, first to Orientalism both African and Asiatic, and afterwards to Greece. This is the cause of the cold monotony of the Cypriote works, or the Punic stelæ. In going through the galleries of the Louvre and New York, one feels there is no effort at advance; from one statue after another there is no new thing to learn of the technical or imaginative talent of their sculptors. There is no variation in types, form, or style in the Hellenic group any more than in the groups which are connected with Assyria or Egypt. The Phœnicians acted as intermediaries between the east and the west; it was their part to be merchants of the fine arts, as well as of material wealth. But if little praise is due to them, surely we owe to them much gratitude. Civilization was spread far and wide by their means; they propagated the industry in which they were past masters, which they indeed developed, showing themselves inventors in that at least. Finally, they endowed the world with alphabetic writing; if any people is to become illustrious by such a discovery, which renders

the relations between towns and countries so easy, it is to the Phœnicians that the glory must be given.

The Phœnicians traded by sea with Egypt, the Cyclades, Greece, and the whole west; by land, across the gorges of Lebanon, with the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris; but between the coast of Syria and these distant countries, peoples were to be found established, who held an important part in the east, namely, the Jews and the Hittites; their customs and their history are becoming daily better known, and some space must be assigned them here.

The Jews, who occupied Southern and Central Syria, to the east of Lebanon, seem to have neglected sculpture from instinct as much as from creed. Clever historians, admirable poets, as the Scriptures testify, architects and decorators who lacked taste neither for the beautiful nor the magnificent, to judge from the splendours of the Temple at Jerusalem, in sculpture they availed themselves of none of the lessons which their neighbours in Egypt, Assyria, and Phœnicia could have given them. Between the Jews and the Phœnicians were many analogies of race and civilization, and they borrowed much from them, but nothing relating to the plastic representation of material objects, or living beings. They have not even, like the Phœnicians, imitated the Egyptian and Assyrian works, which must have been equally well-known to them. It can barely be inferred from literary evidence, that they made or bought from the Phœnicians, poor amulets of terra-cotta, or misshapen idols of wood.

This was, without doubt, because the Mosaic Law forbade by clear prescriptions all material representations of the human figure or animal form—a prohibition continued later on in the same country by the *Mussulman* code. The Hittites, or people of Heth, on the contrary, have left us upon the rocks of their country of northern Syria, and in some regions of Asia Minor (which they had occupied at an early date), a great number of bas-reliefs, whose origin, though at one time doubtful, is now well authenticated, and which assures to them, after the Assyrians and Egyptians, an important chapter by the side of the Phœnicians in the history of Oriental art.

The study of Hittite civilization is of recent date. Some years ago little attention was paid to the history of this primitive people, occasionally mentioned in the Bible, but even then as a declining race scattered over the mountains of Ephraim and Judah. After the reign of Solomon there were no more Hittites in the Holy Land; they had taken refuge farther north in the valley of the Orontes; but long before the entrance of the Hebrews into Southern Syria, the Hittite Empire had been flourishing there. Near and even to Egypt, it had struggled violently against the Theban Pharaohs; the name of *Khiti* is met with in the Egyptian annals from the eighteenth dynasty of Manethon; until the reign of Ramses III., the "vile enemy of Kadesh" is mentioned. Kadesh was their capital, situated in the valley of the Orontes, south of Hamath—as one of Egypt's most dreaded rivals at the entrance to Asia. If Kadesh was the Hittite rampart against Egypt, on the other hand Carchemish, guarding one of the best

fords of the Euphrates, was directly menaced by Assyria. From the beginning of the seventeenth century B.C., the Hittites struggled against Tiglath-pileser I., who, by crossing by craft or by force, penetrated to Arad-Sargon, and in 717 B.C. succeeded in securing the fortress. Thenceforward history makes no further mention of the Hittites.

If it were allowable to enter into a detailed account of the wars in which the Hittites were involved, to render an exact account of the important part which their discerning historians (Dr. Wright, Prof. Sayce, and M. Perrot, who are responsible for the "Hittite Question") have assigned to them in the history of the east, it would become clear how impossible it is nowadays to attribute to any other race but this the fairly numerous monuments whose authors otherwise would still be unknown to us.

The first Hittite stone was discovered in 1812, by Burckardt, at Hamath, on the Orontes. It was an inscription in hieroglyphs, but of a sort which had nothing in common with those of Egypt; the figures, borrowed for the greater part from animal life, are sculptured in relief, and not incised, and with no precision of outline. The existence of hieroglyphs of this nature, easily to be recognised, is the first common feature which serves to distinguish and group together the works of Hittite sculpture. The inscription was re-discovered in 1870, with several others which Dr. Wright succeeded in having conveyed to Constantinople. In 1874 and 1875, Mr. Skene, English Consul at Aleppo, re-discovered some ruins which had already been noticed at Kalaat-Jerablus, and some

lucky excavations enabled his successor, Mr. Henderson, to discover the first Hittite sculptures, and to transport some to the British Museum. Jerablus is doubtless the ancient Carchemish. Further discoveries were made at Marach, on the Orontes; at Saktchegheuksou, at Sindjirli, at Roum-Kale, Biredjik (villages between the Amanus and the Kurddagh), and the characteristics of Hittite sculpture can easily be established.

The most striking feature is the imitation of Assyria. It is peculiarly direct in a bas-relief covering three slabs of basalt, discovered at Saktchegheuksou. The scene represented is a lion-hunt: the creature opens its jaws, and lifts a paw in self-defence against a man, who, standing in front, has driven a boar-spear into its head; another hunter behind has already buried a lance in its flank, and brandishes an axe in his right hand. Behind this group a chariot is to be seen, drawn by two horses, and mounted by two men, a driver, and an archer, who is shooting an arrow. The plates are bordered above and below with a sculptured cornice; the surface above the lion is adorned with pieces of rosepattern, and above the chariot with a winged globe. This globe is merely a symbol borrowed from Assyria; the peaked cap of the first hunter, the long garments, the long curled beards worn by three persons out of the four, the aspect of the lion, the plaited ornament of the edges, even the subject itself, so frequent in the valley of the Euphrates, and finally the heavy, clumsy style of the sculpture, reminds one at once of Assyria. But the heaviness is exaggerated, the forms less precise, the anatomical detail more accentuated. The coats of mail in which the horses

and three of the hunters are arrayed, the short tunic of the fourth, the beardless face and curled hair of this last, are original details for which the Hittite sculptor was certainly responsible. Indeed, those artists, total barbarians as they are,—this bas-relief is certainly the least uncouth of them all,—can, if they will, throw off the influence of their neighbours. A votive stele of basalt (coming from Marach) displays two women seated face to face upon two stools, on either side of a table covered with plates and dishes; they are offering things to one another, fruit or dishes, which they hold up in their hands. The headgear of both is a high tiara, from which a large veil appears to hang down, bordered with transverse stripes, and enveloping them to the ankles; upon their feet are shoes with turned-up toes. This characteristic shoe—still worn in Syria and Asia Minor—is found in most Hittite bas-reliefs. The subject, which reminds one of several Greek stelæ, has no counterpart in Assyrian sculpture, any more than the type of the women or their dress. They have receding foreheads, sharp noses, thick lips, and square chins, the prominent eye is drawn from front face, whilst the face is in profile. The whole thing suggests an extremely primitive and barbarous art, but one that has its place outside of Egyptian art, and alongside that of Assyria; in that at least it has an advantage over Phœnician and Cypriote art, which possessed no originality at all, even in its faults.

There is no mention of the western Hittites either in Egyptian or Assyrian documents; but a number of monuments discovered in Asia Minor leave us without a doubt that the Hittites, driven back by conquerors

from Africa and Mesopotamia, went from Syria to Cœle-Syria, and by the passes of Taurus reached Cappadocia and the shores of the river Halys, and then spread westwards across Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Lydia to the coasts of the Mediterranean.

M. Perrot was the first carefully to explore the country which Herodotus calls Pteria, that is to say, the valley of the Halys river (Kizil-Irmak, or Red River). He first drew attention to the rock bas-reliefs, already noted by Texier, which he has since recognised as of Hittite origin; there can be no possibility of mistake, they are so closely related to the Syrian bas-reliefs which we have just described.

The principal city of Pteria is marked by the ruins of Boghaz-Keui, upon a small tributary of the Kizil-Irmak. A series of chambers and passages are to be found there, cut in the rock, now open to the sky, known to the natives by the name of Iasili-Kaia, *the written stone.* The walls are decorated with several sculptured groups. "Whatever may be its meaning," says M. Perrot, "the scene represented in the large hall can be defined as the meeting of two processions. Two parallel lines of figures, parting at the entrance, spread out, the one on the left, the other on the right wall; they march right round the hall to meet again, and the leaders appear face to face on the middle wall. Although the two processions balance one another on the two walls, they differ greatly in importance. That on the left is more numerous and varied; it consists of forty-five figures, whose dress, attributes, and postures even, display certain differences. On the right-hand wall there are only twenty-two figures; and, with the exception of one

personage who stands apart, all the figures of this band faithfully reproduce a single type. In all the persons to the right, except the one to whom we have alluded, marching second, women may be recognised by their trailing robes, with regular folds hanging down to their ankles, and by their hair, which falls upon their shoulders in long tresses. It should be added that the round tiara, the sole headdress to be seen in this series, greatly resembles that worn by the women in the stelæ of Marach, only in this case it is worn more upright and is fluted, and, as it were, turreted above. It is the same head-dress become more elegant and elaborate, or perhaps only carved by a chisel more practised in small details. In the left-hand *cortège* there are men only.



Fig. 46.—Bas-relief of Iasili-Kaia (*in situ*).

Some are bearded, some wear a uniform costume, the conical cap and short tunic falling just above the knee, which has already been observed in northern Syria. Only one example can be given of the bas-reliefs of Iasili-Kaia (fig. 46). On this divinities are depicted,—the principal figures of the great enclosure. Upon the heads of two the high, round tiara is to be seen; upon that of the third, the conical cap. The long robes, or short tunics, and shoes turned up at the toes, are already familiar, and the same heavy style and lack of precision is to be found which so soon grows familiar to the student of a series of Hittite monuments. Nor has the

type of the figures changed; the profile agrees with the former descriptions. As to the attitudes of the gods, standing upon men's shoulders, on lions' backs, and birds' wings, it occurs frequently on the Hittite bas-reliefs of Syria.

The bas-reliefs of Euiuk, the ruins of which, near Boghaz-Keui, were discovered by Hamilton and afterwards more thoroughly explored by M. Perrot, are only novel in a few details. Hittite sculpture, indeed, is far from rich in forms and variety of types; the two sphinxes only, with the "Hathor headdress" of Hula, should be observed as a sign of Egyptian reminiscences. Indeed, art appears to be still more childish in this place; the reliefs have a heaviness and lack of vigour which are ominous of decline, if an art can be said to have a decline which never had even a distant glimpse, not to say of perfection, but even of accuracy, and to which the idea of progress was unknown.

In Phrygia the traces of the Hittites are more scanty; the most famous bas-reliefs are those of Ghiaour-Kalesi, to the south-west of Ancyra: two warriors hewn in the rock, who by their peaked caps, short tunics, and turned-up shoes, are clearly meant for Hittite chiefs. In Lycaonia, the monument of Eflatoun, near the lake of Bey-cheïr, is clearly of Hittite origin, but the relief (we are able to vouch for the fact ourselves) is so worn away that it is difficult to determine the sex, form, costume, and action of the figures. The bas-relief of Ibriz, near Tyane, is clearer. It is certainly a Hittite work: a prince in the act of devotion before a god, a sort of Oriental Bacchus, personifying the fecundity of the earth, to judge from the clusters of grapes and the

sheaf of corn which he carries. Even without the aid of hieroglyphs (which leave no doubt of the fact), the pointed shoes of the two people, the peaked cap of the god, would tell clearly enough to what art this curious monument must be ascribed. Only the influence of Assyria is nearer at hand here, and apparent in the overloading of embroideries which decorate the robe of the smallest person.

The Hittites can be traced across Asia Minor into Phrygia, where, doubtless, they preceded the Phrygians —a people of whom little is known as yet, whose art still awaits a historian—into Lydia, to the very gates of Smyrna. But the study of the monuments scattered over those regions would teach nothing new. It is sufficient to insist, in conclusion, upon this, that if the Phœnicians have carried to the Greeks across the Cyclades the knowledge of Egyptian and Assyrian art, it is equally possible that the Hittites served as a link across Asia Minor between Mesopotamia and Greece. The Greeks, who brought their dawning civilization to Asia, had early seen and appreciated the Hittite monuments before any of their artists had seen and appreciated an original Assyrian work; is it not then an admissible theory, that the Hittite art, barbarous as it was and so deeply degenerated from that of Assyria, made upon their mind an impression equal, if not superior, to that of Phœnician reproduction? If the Greeks had known Hittite sculpture while there were still Hittites in Asia, something of the Hellenic spirit would be found in the monuments of this people; their art would have been transformed accordingly, or at least modified by contact with the Greeks, for no people

has been able to avoid the influence of their creative genius. Cyprus has furnished us with one example; Media and Persia, which we have no intention of omitting, are another and not less memorable example.

The first mention of the Medes is in an Assyrian inscription of the ninth century B.C.; but the Median empire can only have been founded about 708 B.C., by King Deiokes, whose capital was Ecbatana. Media does not really begin to play her great part in history till about 632 B.C., with King Kyaxares. The history of this great monarch is well known. In alliance with Nabo-polassar, King of Babylon, he laid Nineveh in ruins and divided the spoils of Assyria with his ally. It is not astonishing, then, that the most ancient sculptures of the Medo-Persians, these near neighbours to the east,—first the subjects, afterwards the rivals, and finally the masters of Assyria,—are directly inspired by Assyrian sculptures. The numerous bas-reliefs at Pagasardis and Persepolis are in pure Assyrian style; the subjects, symbolism, dress, and conventions are borrowed from Mesopotamia; the touch, however, is lighter and swifter, and does not linger so much over anatomical details and the niceties of embroidery. In a word, the tendency of this art is towards simplicity,—a very rare quality, and not indigenous, it appears, to the genius of the east in antiquity. Thus, when Media and Persia were united under the rule of Cyrus, when this great king had conquered the whole of Asia Minor, and forced even the Greek coast towns, from 554 B.C. to 539 B.C.; when relations for peace or war between the Greeks and Persians were

complicated under Cambyses and Darius, at a time when Greek art was already maturing, it is not surprising that Persian sculpture like that of Cyprus, sought for inspiration in the archaism of Greece. This fact is confirmed by the recent discoveries of M. and Mme. Dieulafoy, at Susa, but it was fairly established before by some bas-reliefs of Persepolis, with beautifully simple draperies, symmetrically folded in Greek fashion. By good fortune we are now enabled to admire for ourselves in the Louvre a series of bas-reliefs in enamelled brick which formerly decorated the palace of Darius. Fig. 47 represents one of the archers of the Guard Royal, one of "The Immortals," as Herodotus calls them. Many of the details are Assyrian: the curled hair and beard, the long star-strewn robe edged



Fig. 47.—An archer of Darius (Louvre).

with embroideries, the laced sandals and richly-gilded armour. The composition of the frieze also is Assyrian, where all the figures (there are ten in the Louvre) are mere stereotypes, except for varying colour, and, above all, the manner of obtaining the relief by the different juxtaposition of the bricks and the technique of the colour and of the enamelling. "But," as M. Choisy says, "what an advance in the sense of form! It is Assyrian art, transformed however by the intervention, more or less direct, of the Greeks. If the enamelled bas-reliefs of the archers were placed side by side with an archaic Greek work, only the costumes would mark the difference in origin. Both coloured, though by very different processes, they have the same posture, the same feeling, something of the same style. The archers of Susa belong, though with considerable reservation, to the family of the famous bas-relief known by a picturesque though anachronistic title as 'The Soldier of Marathon' (see *infra*, fig. 67); they have Greek delicacy, while 'The Soldier of Marathon' has the solemn bearing and gravity of Susa. Besides, they are contemporaries." "The Immortals" and "The Soldier of Marathon" are both, in fact, works of the sixth century B.C. This date warns us that it is high time for us to study Greek sculpture in Greece.

BOOK II.

GREECE AND ITALY.

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Elementary—

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Special references supplementary to the notices in these books will be found at the head of each chapter.

I.

BEGINNINGS.

Schliemann, *Mykene*. For sword blades Köhler, Mitt. vii., taf. viii., p. 241, and for coloured facsimiles *Bulletin de Cor. Hell.*, x., pl. i. and ii. Spata, Mitt. ii., 261. Delos, *Bulletin de Cor. Hell.*, iii., p. 99, pl. i. Loeschke and Furtwängler, *Mykenische Thongefässe;* Milchhöffer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland;* Langbehn, *Flügelgestalten der ältesten Griechischen Kunst.*

When the critic desires to point out the most ancient monuments of plastic art in Greece, the discoveries of Mycenæ, Spata, and of Kameiros (in the island of Rhodes) invariably furnish the examples; and, in point of fact, there are no more authentic documents. But it appears to the present writer that there has not been, as yet, sufficient effort made towards classification. Some classification of the objects which form these invaluable collections is essential. In the treasures of Mycenæ, for instance, distinctions that must be made between objects of foreign importation and those of local fabrication still call for precise discrimination. It is quite certain that the ostrich-egg found in one tomb was brought from Egypt into Argolis by some Phœnician sailor; on the other hand, the funeral stelæ, decorated with chariots and warriors, were made in Argolis itself. As to numerous other objects, the problem is not so easily solved, and it

is still a vexed question whether the famous swords of bronze, inlaid with gold, silver, and electro, were made in Egypt, Phœnicia, or Greece; whether they should be viewed simply as importations, or as the works of artists at Mycenæ inspired by foreign models. It appears to us that figs. 48 and 49 need only to be seen to induce the conviction that we should render unto the foreigner the things that are his, namely, the swords. To know the state of Hellenic art in this primitive era, the stelæ only should be studied, for if the swords are of local handiwork, how comes it that the local artist had arrived at such marvellous results in the extremely complex art of inlaying, whilst remaining so naïve in the much more simple art of sculpture? The stelæ are childishly coarse; the method employed by the sculptor is quite primitive; he draws the figures on the surface of a stone, which he scarcely smooths beforehand, and afterwards hollows the outlines which he has traced. But, whilst we have seen how the Egyptians, by the same method, covered the walls of their tombs and temples with an incalculable number of really well-drawn figures, which, in spite of wilful faults and con-



Fig. 48.—Sword blade of Mycenæ (Museum of Archæological Society, Athens).

ventional forms, are living and natural, the figures here are simply bad first attempts; the men have nothing human in their aspect; the horses, harnessed to the rudimentary chariots, are not the least like horses. These tombstones, though they served to conceal treasures, are themselves of the most infantine *naïveté*, and nothing as yet in these awkward essays gives a glimpse of the future of Greek sculpture. Certainly the chiefs of Mycenæ, whose tombs Dr. Schliemann discovered, loved and



Fig. 49.—Funeral stele of Mycenæ (Museum of Archæological Society, Athens).

doubtless understood the Oriental arts which they had learnt through Phœnician merchants; but Mycenæan artists were still incapable of doing anything which recalled in the remotest degree the flexible imagination of the East. At the period to which the collections of Mycenæ must be ascribed, it cannot be truly said that the Greeks had felt the influence of the East; there is a juxtaposition of foreign and local art (if the word *art* can yet be used), but nothing more; Oriental plastic

art was too fully developed, and that of Greece too primitive for any modification of the latter by the former. Bring a learner face to face with a picture of Raphael or Titian, the young painter cannot make the least progress by looking at it, the model is too perfect.

Here, perhaps, is a solution of a problem, often put and never solved, with regard to the influences which affected Greek art. The primitive Greeks found themselves in contact with a people too civilized to give them any immediate benefit; direct imitation of Oriental works by Greek artists was too difficult for them to dream of applying themselves to it as soon as they began to know it. And, moreover, the affinities between the Greeks and these foreigners were so slight, the races differed so widely, the tendencies of the infant civilization of the Greeks were so much opposed to those of the Eastern civilizations, that it was not possible for Greek art to become the humble disciple of the East. This does not mean, however, that the Greeks owe nothing to their predecessors; rather that the question is one of degree. Some critics claim for Greek art a strict relationship with Egyptian art, with Assyrian art,—in short, with Eastern art; others wish to make out that it is *autochthonous*, as the Greeks themselves said; arising, that is to say, spontaneously upon Greek soil, from the sheer genius of the race—that race so marvellously endowed with the sense of beauty of form. We ourselves prefer to take the medium course, requiring a kind of compromise. It is, indeed, easy to admit that Eastern art, coming into contact in Greece with a national art (which, although it was exceedingly rudimentary, yet had a character of its own), may

have imparted to this rudimentary art some of its own spirit, may have turned it in a certain direction, without in any way destroying in it the genius of originality, which developed in spite of external restrictions. If the autochthonous art instinct had been completely absorbed, there would have been no Greek art, but only an European section of Oriental art. But while certain peoples and certain artists were led by the fascination of Oriental art into introducing into their work elements taken, in some cases, from Egyptian, in others from Chaldæa, Assyria, or Asia Minor, the majority of artists, as we believe, and particularly those of European Greece, developed their art with a great measure of independence, and advanced chiefly in the direction to which their peculiar Hellenic tendencies inclined them.

It is necessary, then, in the first place, to study two series of parallel works which seem to be related, but only in a remote degree. Among the primitive Greek sculptures that remain to us, some—a very few—recall the East; others—and they are much more frequent—can be compared to nothing which has been described hitherto.

A very important fact appears to us to have been unduly neglected. The principal archæological authorities attribute to the treasures of Mycenæ and the objects discovered at Spata the very remote date of the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C. Against this series of documents let us place others whose date is absolutely certain. M. Homolle has discovered in the island of Delos a statue of Artemis, which passes for one of the most ancient of surviving statues. It is a votive

offering consecrated by Nicandre (fig. 50), according to an inscription in hexameters carved on the robe of the figure, to the huntress who shoots from afar (ἑκηβόλῳ). The form is that of a plank. "The marble, from the base to the shoulders," says M. Homolle, "is in the shape of a flattened column. The sides to the right and left are rounded; the front and back are two parallel planes. The girdle divides the body into two unequal parts; the lower part, which is the longer, grows thinner and thinner from the feet up to the hips, which are rounded beneath the girdle; the upper part, reversely, continually widens. The size of the shoulders equals that of the base. To the right and left are placed two vertical uprights, straight and stiff, along the sides of the body; they are the arms. The head resembles a truncated pyramid, whose edges have all been softened down and worn away. The hair, plastered upon the temples, and spread out on the shoulders, contributes to this effect. Above the base the marble is hollowed out and roughly levelled. In the triangular cavity two projections are contrived, which stand for extremities of the two feet; they are joined together; it is difficult to imagine anything more naïvely uncouth." This statue bears an inscription which was very likely engraved in the seventh century. M. Holleaux discovered in 1885, in the ruins of the temple of Apollo Ptoos in Beotia, a fragment of an idol (fig. 51), which, to judge by the



Fig. 50. — Xoanon of Nicandre (Central Museum, Athens).

extreme imperfection of the work, and by the inscription on the base, does not belong to a more recent era than the votive statues of Delos. It must be confessed, that however partial one is to the theory of Oriental influence, it is difficult to admit that it was very powerful when during several centuries it did not succeed in inspiring the Greek artists who confined themselves to unformed attempts.

A very ingenious archæologist, M. Milchhœfer, in a recent book* tries to maintain that Greek art springs directly, not from Egyptian or Phœnician arts, but, by means of Crete, from Lycia. Without examining this bold theory, which nevertheless has busied serious critics, surely there is only one sound method. It is easy to prove anything by philosophy and logic; but the surer method is, to exhibit Oriental monuments and Greek monuments of known origin, and whose age can be approximately fixed, and to prove any undeniable resemblances of style and execution between them. These monuments are extremely rare.



Fig. 51.—Archaic fragment of Beotia (Central Museum, Athens).

The most remarkable, perhaps, is the statue of Chares, which has been conveyed by Mr. Newton to the British Museum from the sacred avenue of the temple of Apollo of Branchidæ, near Miletus (fig. 52). This figure, which is larger than life-size, is seated on

* *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland.* Leipsig: 1883.

a massive throne; the feet are joined together; the arms, bent at the elbows, are pressed close to the body, and the hands rest on the knees. He wears a long, tight-fitting robe, and a mantle draped in symmetrical folds. His general aspect recalls a number of Egyptian statues, above all the colossi of Memnon and Thebes, and also Chaldæo-Babylonian statues, like the Architect of Tello (Louvre Museum), or better still, the statue of Shalmaneser, found at Kalah-Shergat (British Museum). It should be added that the soft, heavy forms of the body, and the ample folded draperies, are purely Oriental in style.

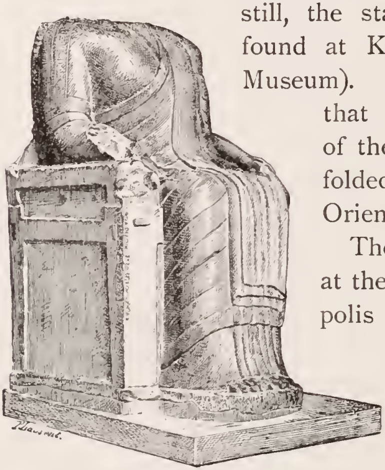


Fig. 52.—Statue of Chares (British Museum).

The famous Lion-Gate, at the entrance to the Acropolis of Mycenæ, — that sculptured architrave where two animals, unknown to the Greek fauna, are set up face to face against a column,—appear to be copies, cleverer than the original, of the lions that watched the doors on some monuments of Asia Minor, such as the bas-reliefs of Ayazeen, in Phrygia. Without wishing to multiply examples, and keeping to those that are most striking, we shall presently approach the study of a type of Greek male statue, which usually goes by the name of Apollo, and whose attitude seems borrowed straight from Egypt.

But, first, attention must be drawn to fig. 53; it represents a bronze plate discovered at Olympia, divided into four zones, and higher than it is broad. Upon the first zone are birds, probably the eagles of Olympian Zeus; on the second, two griffins, face to face, with open beaks; on the third, Herakles pursues a centaur; and finally, on the fourth, which is much larger than any of the others, is an Eastern divinity, doubtless the Persian Artemis, under the form of a winged woman, clothed in a long robe, and holding in either hand a small lion by its hind leg. Graven stones and Chaldæo-Babylonian cylinders leave us in no doubt about the identity of the goddess so figured, and the work, though Greek in origin,—as the representation of Herakles and the centaur proves,—might well pass, without minute examination, for an importation.



Fig. 53.—Plate in Oriental style (Olympia Museum).

It is, however, in monuments of moderate size, and rather in industrial than artistic objects, that Eastern influence is found most definitely. The small productions of industrial arts easily found a place on

board ship ; tiny bronzes inlaid with gold, ivory plates, and above all, vessels for various uses, and chiefly vases, open up an easy and important commerce. Owing to their small weight and bulk, to their moderate price and utility in daily life, they are readily circulated, and find a place alike in the houses of men and the temples of the gods. But statues, on the other hand, are not easily handled, nor are they good investments from a commercial point of view. To confine ourselves to Egyptian sculpture, for example, it has been seen what it produced ; at first, portraits, which were to be buried for ever in the mysterious depths of the mastâbas,* the funeral shafts and chambers mentioned before ; and then, gods and Pharaohs, destined for temple decoration, heavy granite statues, very often gigantic in size. The first could not, on account of their destination, quit the funeral chambers, and the second could only possess a very secondary interest for strangers.

The Greek race resembles the Egyptian in nothing ; it has neither the same origins, the same customs, nor the same beliefs. The Greeks had gods of their own, quite distinct from those of Egypt, both in their essential nature and in the concrete forms with which the people loved to endow them. The half-savage peoples who fought for possession of the Hellenic soil had indeed a form, however primitive, of government : a warrior chief was chosen from day to day, or marked out for respect by the fabulous traditions about his ancestors ; but this rudimentary

* Mastâba is an Arabic word, meaning a bench. The natives called the tombs, whose shape reminded them of their modern mastâbas, by this name.

state was far enough removed from the advanced monarchical constitution of Egypt, and what interest the sailors from Egypt or Phœnicia could have in exporting the images of their kings so far from the Nile, is not easily to be understood. As for the bas-reliefs, one knows their exclusive destination in Egypt, to decorate the walls of the tombs with familiar scenes, and the great walls and enormous pillars of the temples and palaces with vast historic and religious scenes. Even the funeral stele which was found at the entrance to the sepulchres had nothing in common with the stelæ of Hellenic tombs, and could no more have flourished away from the shores of the Nile than the portraits of the dead.

At most, there were little amulets, tiny figures of glass, porcelain, or terra-cotta which the Phœnicians brought with them to the shores which they frequented, and which appealed to the fancy of a people as credulous as themselves, and as full of confidence in the grinning faces of these fetiches. They spread easily enough among the early Greeks and exerted some influence upon the fabrication of amulets and local idols. But these humble productions of an inferior and popular sculpture could not affect the rise of Greek statuary, any more than the objects in daily use, the arms, the jewels, and the vases. In the most brilliant eras of Hellenic civilization, the value of classification and the distinction of styles has never been disputed; the same thing is true of artistic styles as of literary; a sculptor would never dream of going for inspiration to a potter, however perfect the forms and brilliant the decoration of the vases coming from his clever fingers. A vase, for the early sculptor, was

merely a vase, and not a work of art, and without reasoning about their feeling, it did not enter into their minds to profit on their own account from a curious design, a happy attitude, or an ingenious composition. There is some truth in saying, however, that the daily sight of these imported objects, which were widespread, might have given to the early sculptors—though they never dreamed in the least of studying them closely for inspiration—certain ways of looking at things. It might have bent their taste and fancy towards certain conceptions, which little by little have turned their activity in new directions, and put their hand and chisel on the track of methods which brought them closer to the foreigners, with whom their means of contact were entirely superficial.

On this footing, and with these precautions, stands, as we believe, the question of the origins of Greek sculpture. Without entirely denying Eastern influence, we would see the belief in it modified, and, above all, see it clearly established, that if the Greek sculptors, contrary to the potters and goldsmiths, have felt it in a very slight degree, that they felt it unconsciously. Whenever, in the rest of this study, in tracing the original development of Greek sculpture, we shall note some feature due, without doubt, to Eastern influence, it must always be clearly understood that we are in the presence of an involuntary reminiscence, very different from the studied imitation which the Phœnicians, for instance, made of the Egyptians and the Asiatics. In early Greek sculpture the foreign features will strike us as involuntary exceptions ; with the Phœnicians it is originality that is exceptional, though the artists themselves seemed to ignore this fact.

II.

EARLY ARTISTS.

For Acropolis female statues: E. A. Gardner, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, viii., p. 159; F. Winter, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 216, taf. 13, 14; C. Robert, "Hermes," *Jahrbuch*, 1887, vol. xxii., p. 120; F. Winter, *Mittheilungen*, 1888, p. 1. Coloured fac-similes: Staës, Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, p. 130, pl. 9; and *Denkmäler*, 1888, taf. 19. Poros sculptures: *Denkmäler*, 1889, taf. 30; *Deneken*, Mitt. xiv., 1889, i., pl. I.

Owing to a double series of important discoveries, the second chapter of the history of Greek sculpture can now be written in a way that it was difficult to anticipate some years ago. The archæologist no longer has to grope his way among the obscurities of authors or in the wilderness of European Museums themselves becoming ancient, for texts and monuments of very doubtful interpretation. A twofold collection of statues whose origin is certain and whose dates can be fixed with some precision, now throw new light upon the successive developments of Greek plastic. Quite a commonplace topic nowadays are those ancient idols of wood or in stone as coarsely angular as wood, those *xoana** which the primitive sculptors made, under pretext of giving to the gods a human form.

* It may be well at this point to distinguish certain terms constantly in use by the Greeks as names for various kinds of statues :—

1. Xoanon (ξόανον) means simply a thing hewn or carved, a rude

They were hewn out of tree-trunks by the blows of an axe, sawn out of a log or hammered out of a block of limestone; with shapeless heads and bodies wholly unrecognizable, with no human outlines, sexless, and without beauty, wrapped in rigid, stiff, and foldless sheaths. With scrupulous care the evidence of the ancients has been collected on the subject of those *rough draughts* of divinities, with their tight-shut eyes and arms hanging down close against the hips. These the Greeks preserved in their temples in the periods of their most brilliant civilization, as through ever-living and cherished memories of primitive beliefs and ancient worship. To this evidence may be added the somewhat flattering depictions of these naïve sculptural attempts, handed down by the potters on painted vases.

A good instance of this kind is given in fig. 54. The scene is the sanctuary of a goddess. On a somewhat elaborate basis stands a stiff formal temple statue, an ancient xoanon. The goddess, possibly Athene herself, stands bolt upright; in her right hand a flower, in her left a spear; she wears a close foldless garment, and legs and feet seem tightly glued together; only in the action of the arms is there the beginning of life.

image, usually of wood; its name denotes that it was an advance on the unhewn idol—the mere fetich.

2. Bretas (βρέτας) means strictly a board; hence a flat, rudely-carved idol.

3. Agalma (ἄγαλμα), originally a glory, a delight, a thing pleasing; hence a votive offering delightful to the god—hence often an image of the god himself.

4. Hedos (ἕδος), a place set, as for a seat, a foundation; hence either a temple, or a temple statue formally set up.

5. Eikon (εἰκών), an image resembling something; hence usually the portrait of a man, rather than the temple statue of a god.

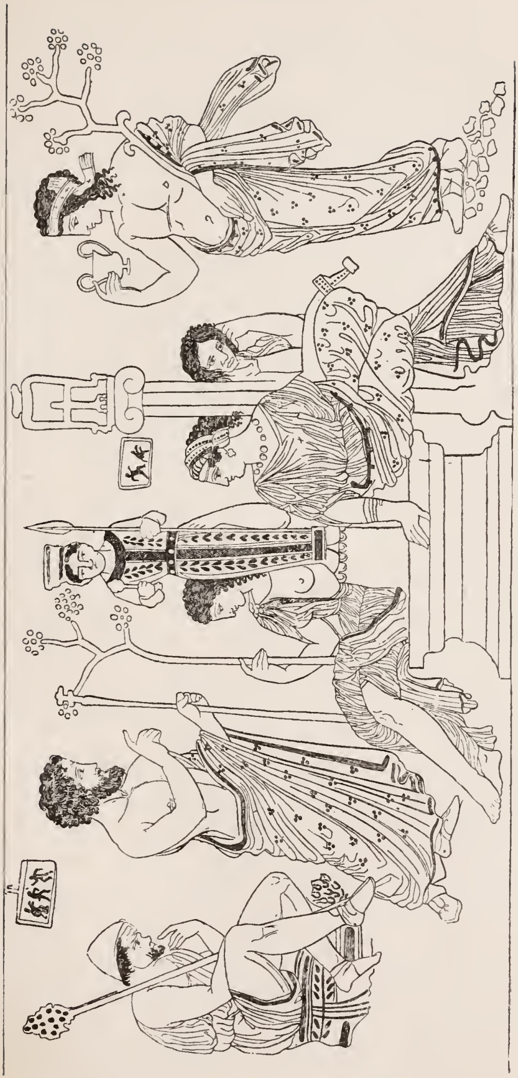


Fig. 54.—Vase-painting. Scene of worship.

The vase-painter's intention is clear; that he can draw mature and graceful forms he shows in the figures of the worshippers, but he wants to show what he has seen, the ancient venerable image. On the wall of the sanctuary are votive tablets, to the right a column surmounted by a tripod; two of the worshippers carry lustral branches.

The image in the vase-painting is just beginning to wake into life, and this awakening was always attributed to the invention of a legendary sculptor. Dædalus, tradition has it, first opened the eyes of those blind gods, detached from the body the arms swathed to the sides, and separated the legs and feet, nailed and glued together in stiff immobility. Dædalus is a poetic invention; the brilliant advances with which his name is associated are not the work of one man, but of successive generations. It is possible nowadays to follow out its phases; Hellenic soil has yielded up to us, almost without reserve, some of its most precious secrets. And, in short, everything tends to establish, beyond a doubt, the fact that the primitive sculptors, in the effort to bring to life the dead idols of wood, created two types, one masculine and one feminine—archaic types of so great originality that they long imposed themselves upon artists, and down to the decadence inspired imitators.

It is this double series that must be considered, and in following out its development we have to study no longer the beginnings of art, the now familiar xoana, but the progressive perfection of the type.

The female type should be studied first, for obvious reasons. The fortunate discoveries of M. Homolle at

Delos, discoveries deservedly celebrated, have enabled him to establish, almost without a break, a complete chain of progression in the formation of the female series. In the male type, on the contrary, quite at the beginning, the series is still interrupted by some gaps.

The votive statue of Nicandre which has been already described, is indeed a xoanon; a thick slab of marble, coarsely hewn as with an axe, in which the most ancient figured representation of Artemis is recognised purely by external and not by æsthetic considerations. The technique of wood is found in every part of this rude attempt, not only in the general form, but in the way in which the different planes are joined together, giving to the whole the air of a geometrical figure (fig. 50).

The second Delian fragment is still an imitation of a xoanon, but is already less naïve, and shows several new departures. Mutilated as it is,—the head, arms, and legs from the knees are lacking,—a certain care in modelling the swelling of the neck may be noticed, also the thinness of the waist and the clearly marked projection of the hips. There is some care, too, in the ornamentation, and this is sensible in the key-pattern on the border which runs down the whole length of the sheathlike garment. Already the sculptor had modified the action of the arms; the right one only hangs by the side, the left is bent from the elbow and the hand rested on the chest between the two breasts (fig. 55). The analogy of this fragment to the votive offering of Nicandre is evident. It shares this likeness with the statues found in the same place by M. Homolle, the

series of which the author has had the good fortune to enrich.

The Museums of Athens and Myconos possess at the present time (1889) seven figures of the Delian Artemis, whose type is the direct outcome of the xoanon, and the same as we are endeavouring to fix. The traces of the xoanon type remain in the general aspect of the goddess, which is stiff and constrained, the body tightly shrouded in its garment; and the outlines, though these begin to be somewhat skilfully marked, preserve the elongation and slimness characteristic of wooden sculptures. But, in spite of the stiff posture, Artemis is no longer geometrical; she is archaic still, but shapeless no more. The sculptor begins to understand womanliness, and in what the charm and grace of the sex consist, namely, the harmonious curves, wavy outlines, and elegance of costume, combined with a certain coquetry in adornment. The goddess no longer has her legs joined together, her feet adhering fast one to the other. One leg is slightly advanced, to permit of the modelling beneath the draperies of the rounded thigh; the right fore-arm is detached from the bust, but it is no longer laid upon the throat, whose rich swell, high and firm,

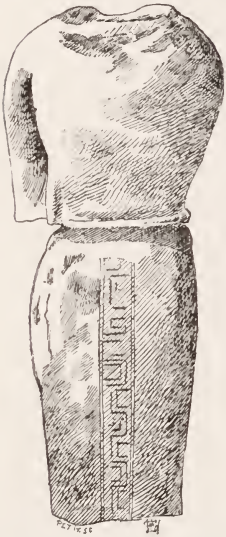


Fig. 55.—Archaic statue of Delos (Central Museum, Athens).

is unconcealed. The arm, naked from the elbow, carries some attribute, fruit, flower, or cup; the left arm hangs down, but without being pressed to the side, from which it is separated by a gap; there is free air about its round curves; and to fill the hand which hitherto hung useless, the artist has conceived the graceful idea of employing it to lift the trailing tunic, by this piece of ingenuity alone giving life and action to the statue. The sheath of the xoana, foldless and rigid as armour, may have been an imitation of the coarse primitive cloths, heavy, rough woollen stuff as weighty and tough as felt, falling all in one mass and hiding the force as well as the grace of the body. In course of time this hardness is softened down; a fine woollen chemise, delicately woven, clings in little wavy folds about the shoulders, the breasts, and the arms, whose flesh shows through transparently. Drawn in where the waist is slender, it gets ampler from the hips, and the arm which raises it on the left and stretches it across the muscles of the legs, which are in motion, cleverly brings out its supple grace. Above the chemise, a mantle or peplos, of thicker tissue, falls in noble symmetrical waves, leaving bare the left shoulder and breast, which it surrounds like a shoulder-belt. It gives fulness to the torso without depriving it of a particle of its grace, and the long stripes of the folds, arranged vertically on the one side and in the shape of a fan on the other, in sharper relief, break up very happily the uniformity of the close-fitting tunic. These felicitous details of costume add refinement to a refined attitude. The artist has dressed his goddess as a tasteful woman would dress, who would add to a

certain careful and conscious symmetry the piquant note of variety. Here a twisted fringe starts into bold relief, and there the eye is arrested by a luminous patch on the large surfaces, and the rich necklaces of pendants dear to a woman are not forgotten. The back like the front of the body is carefully worked. The shoulder-blades are prominent beneath the peplos; the line of the hips bold, the tunic is stretched over the thighs; on the back rests the hair, gathered up in a rectangular mass, whilst long tresses detached from the nape of the neck stray in curls about the curved throat.

But, whether owing to chance or to systematic mutilation, the heads are lacking to the charming and even beautiful bodies of these goddesses; and, as a crowning misfortune, even the head of the votive statue of Nicandra has suffered so from time that it is impossible to distinguish the features, and much less the expression of the face. Even imagination refuses to figure the transformation undergone by the primitive type, and in consequence to restore in this particular the type of more recent statues.

Happily, archæological discoveries seem occasionally to obey some secret law of attraction. Hardly had attention been aroused by the discoveries of Delos, when monuments were pointed out from all parts which had scarcely been noticed before, and are strictly connected with the same type as well as the same period of Greek sculpture. Finally, the excavations which for some years have been actively carried on in Greece itself to such good purpose, have brought

to light a series of statues analogous to those of Delos, a series to which additions are constantly made, and owing to them the grievous gaps in the Delian series are gradually being filled up.

At Eleusis first, four statues or statuettes were found, very like those of Delos, but, like them, lacking heads. Their principal interest was that they proved the diffusion of the type, in spite of some slight variations in the adjustment of the draperies, and perhaps also in the technical processes.

Soon after, the marvellous find at the Athenian Acropolis, to the north of the Erechtheum, solved in a definite fashion the problems which the Delian discoveries had left still somewhat obscure. Here were found fourteen statues of the same type, in good preservation, almost complete, eight of them still having heads on their shoulders. Since this first great discovery, constant additions have been made from various parts of the Acropolis, though never again in such large collective numbers. The series counts now upwards of forty figures. This discovery will make the museum of the Acropolis perhaps the richest—and for archaic art certainly the most interesting—in the world.

In studying this series of archaic statues, details of costume may be set aside, noting, however, once for all, that the chisel has frequently been helped out by the brush. The elaborate draperies which clothe the figures, and which may possibly have been tinted a brown colour, are further enriched by ornaments and little flowers painted all over them in various colours. The borders are adorned with the key-pattern and with zigzags in red, green, and gold.

The drapery is substantially the same on some of the earliest statues as that of the Delos figures. There is the same chemisette folded finely in like fashion, the same semi-fitting tunic and peplos draped in long, heavy, symmetrical folds; the same attitude, too, of rather still elegance and imposing grace; the same petrified immobility in spite of a manifest effort after life and motion.

These are the characteristics alike of body and head. The several faces are certainly not identical as in a series of casts from one statue; the features differ, the expression is not uniform, and there is variety in the arrangement of the headgear. But, nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the minds of the sculptors are haunted by the same type of goddess or mortal; it is not only that they were of one school, but that they have only one ideal of feminine beauty, which they seek to render by similar methods.

They wished to give to the body the illusion of life and movement, and so, in the same way, they wished to animate the face; they found no better way than that of making it smile. The corners of the mouth are slightly turned up in the direction of the ears; the outer angle of the eyes is turned up in the same way as the lips; and if the artist has been able to note the real principle of laughter, he has never got beyond the first rough rendering of it. It requires an imagination of some depth and a singularly cunning chisel to give to a marble face that complex expression of gaiety, that joy of the spirit, so subtle that it seems to evade analysis. The smile is, perhaps, the most delicate expression of the life of the face, and the most difficult to

render. The earlier statues of the Acropolis stopped short at the intention. What strikes us sometimes in this effort to render life is the absence of life—the smile, far from animating the face, only, in some instances, galvanizes it.



Fig. 56.



Fig. 57.

Archaic female figure (Acropolis Museum).

It was in this same effort to get close to living nature, and also from their keen decorative instinct, that the sculptors expended so much care on the abundant tresses of their goddesses, which are parted about the ears, and fall in formal locks, and frame the brow with little, close-set curls. But rich as these tresses are,

there is too perfect a symmetry in these ornaments, too regular an arrangement of set crimps or waving fillets; this scientific hairdressing, in which no hair is longer than another, appears too conventional, and produces an almost deathlike impression of cold rigidity. In vain does the sculptor call to his aid the artifice of colour. The hair is painted brown, the diadem above it is decorated with palm-leaves or graceful waving lines; the eyebrows and lashes, like the pupils of the eyes, are painted in imitation of nature, and occasionally even the sockets of the eyes, hollowed out in plain marble, are set with an emerald. It was long indeed before the sculptor attained the power to animate the solemn immobility of those petrified faces (figs. 56, 57).



Fig. 58.—Poros head of Typhon (Acropolis Museum).

But life came by degrees, staring at first with senseless new-born eyes; later, self-collected, and by degrees softened into perfect beauty. It would be hard to deny the quality of life to the head in fig. 58. Even in the colourless engraving it is instinct with life, and the effect in the original is heightened by the most vivid hues. The head is sculptured out of a soft stone, known as "poros," a comparatively pliant material, suited to the efforts of the early sculptor; it is one of a large series of "poros" fragments which were found in large quantities to the south and south-east

of the Parthenon. They form part of a pedimental composition, depicting the combat of Zeus and Typhon. The hard beard and moustache of this somewhat startling head are brilliant Prussian blue; the eyeballs, vivid emerald green; the white of the eye,



Fig. 59.—Archaic head (Acropolis Museum).

yellow; on the flesh of the face are traces of red. The expression is genial, almost rollicking, with new-found life.

For contrast there might stand side by side with it the lovely head, of considerably later date, given in fig. 59, the most advanced of the long series of archaic woman

figures. Its delicate beauty can unfortunately not be at all adequately rendered by a rough cut. Just so much formalism remains as lends an austere grace to this "portrait of a lady." The head has been thought to resemble what is known by tradition of the style of Kalamis, and certainly she has on her lips the smile, "holy and hidden," which that sculptor knew how to lend to those to whom he gave "the adornment of reverence."

This series of women figures has been taken together in order to avoid a break in their continuity; but they have taken us down to too late a date, and we must go back and trace the parallel series of male figures.

The xoana were sexless. Without going back to the most ancient images of the gods, which had no human form (the wooden Apollo of Ambracia, the Hera column of Samos, the wooden Dioscuri of Sparta), it was by external evidence, such as inscriptions and dedications, that a woman was recognised in the xoanon of Delos. From that coarse idol arose the feminine type which has just been described; from like attempts arose the corresponding male type. It remains to consider the series of archaic statues which are known, though in some cases possibly by a mistaken title, as "Apollos."

The chain of progression is still obscure which transformed the primitive xoanon into the Apollo of Orchomenos; the monuments are missing, it is only guessed from some allusions in authors what the real aspect was of the male statues attributed to Dædalus and the Dædalians, his disciples. As in the case of the female statues, the first imitations of nature are due doubtless to the sculptors personified by those mythic artists. The log without bodily outlines or sex, has.

under their hands, by the force of the axe, the plane, and the saw, attained the vague form of a man. In this the more primitive statue could be recognised, in the outline of the naked torso, by the arms pressed to the sides, and the legs all in one piece. Then the figure becomes more precise, without any modification of the attitude. Each part of the body becomes more distinct: the man is born,—very stiff, uncouth, and ill-shaped, but still a man; something like a child's plaything, a soldier of wood or lead. We see such a man, for instance, on a vase in the British Museum (fig. 60). Finally, marble replaced wood; but the workman, half sculptor, half carpenter, has only his ordinary tools to hew this new material, which, though it is harder, has more plastic possibilities. The Apollo of Orchomenos (fig. 61) is rough-hewn, according to the processes used for wood; cut out, as it were, with an axe. The position of the body is not new; the figure stands with head held up and rigid body, the arms hanging and the hands closed; the legs stiff, but separated, and the right standing a little behind. The aspect is heavy and the execution rough. The face has suffered much; the round eyes which are not sunk in the face, are set very close together under an extremely low and much-worn brow. The nose, worn away with age, is very large and coarse, and had projected but little; the mouth is very wide, with thin lips. The ears are badly placed, and the heavy oval of the face seems swollen at

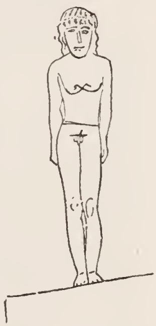


Fig. 60. — Early temple statue, vase-painting (British Museum).

their height. The curls covering the forehead are barely indicated, whilst the hair falls in masses on the back and shoulders. The body, especially, looks as if it had been chipped out of a tree trunk; the large square shoulders, out of harmony with the rather slender waist and the narrow pelvis, are joined to the shoulder-blades and breasts by unmodelled surfaces; the breasts are joined to the sides and the sides to the stomach in like manner. The intention of the worker was good. He wanted to imitate living nature, and in fact the anatomy of the man has been carefully studied and understood, in spite of failings. But the hand was still cramped by the use of tools and methods inappropriate to the working of marble.

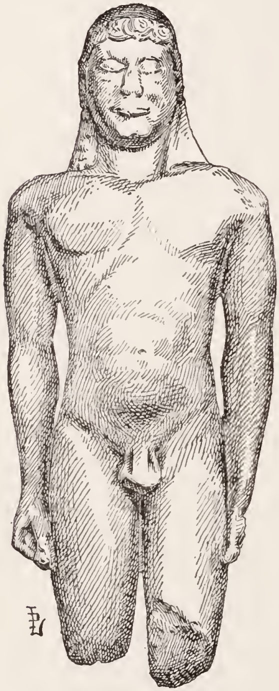


Fig. 61.—"Apollo" of Orchomenos (Central Museum, Athens).

The most ancient of the "Apollos," discovered at Acraiphiæ by M. Holleaux on the site of the temple of Apollo Ptoos (fig. 62), certainly has the advantage over the model of Orchomenos. The two are almost contemporary, and certainly are very similar. They have the same attitude and general bodily construction; the thick,

short neck and square shoulders; the humerus too short, the forearm too long; the low, flat breasts; long, thin waist, and narrow, flattened belly. The arrangement of the hair, though identical, is more careful; the profile of the face is clumsy and spiritless; the wide, thin lips form a sort of gash; the nose prolongs the line of the brow; the rather oblique eyes are almond-shaped, flat, and too near together. But the face is not quite so square; it is almost a pure oval, and already there are signs of life about it. M. Holleaux* has well said: "The statue of Acraiphiæ marks a great advance upon that of Orchomenos. The same type is reproduced in both, but in the former the early coarseness is gone; it is not transformed, but modified, and as it were eased. Our Apollo is the work of an artist who is not over particular about exact anatomy, and still a very timid interpreter of the forms of reality, but he is anxious to please; already he begins to think of grace and refinement—a new thought which apparently never troubled his predecessor, the rude creator of the statue of Orchomenos."

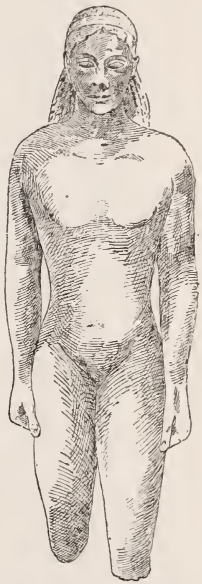


Fig. 62. — Apollo Ptoos (Central Museum, Athens).

* *Bull. de Cor. Hell.*, x., 1886, p. 66, pl. iv. (in this article by M. Holleaux all the important previous literature on these "Apollo" figures is cited). Also E. Gardner, "Recently Discovered Archaic Statues," *J. H. S*, 1887.

The Apollo of Thera (figs. 63, 64) may be either an earlier or a later work than the Apollo of Ptoos. This is matter of opinion. The type, at any rate, though it still recalls the worker in wood, and has the same attitude and almost the same technique, is somewhat modified. The forms of the body and facial features are in another style. The head is bent forward upon a more pliant neck, the brow recedes, the nose is delicate, rather arched, and pointed. The large prominent eyes have the balls flattened. The mouth, with thicker lips, smiles unmistakably; the outline of the face, flattened on the cheeks, narrows to the small spare chin. The shoulders, however, are sloping, the breasts rounded and drooping; all parts of the abdomen are badly drawn—flat and level, lacking in vigour and modelling, like the arms and what remains of the thighs. The peculiarly masculine characteristics of the body are ill-

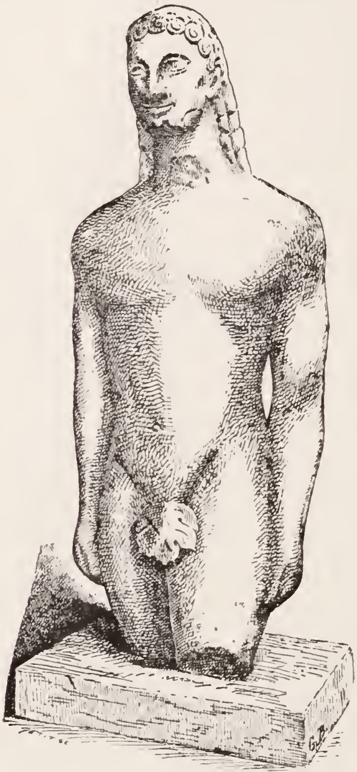


Fig. 63.—Apollo of Thera, front view.

comprehended and ill-drawn. The artist has observed the vague general outlines of a man, but has not seen that the muscles are arranged in definite systems. All the interest and novelty is in the expression of the face. It still wears a grin rather than a smile, but even in that there is a praiseworthy attempt to express individual life. The three "Apollos" so far discussed stand together in the Central Museum, Athens; for the fourth of the series we must go to the Glyptothek at Munich.



Fig. 64.—Apollo of Thera (Central Museum, Athens).

The Apollo of Tenea (fig. 65) springs almost in a direct line from the Apollo of Thera, and is the same kind of statue, only vastly superior. The progress is very great, or rather the artist was much abler; it is a work of art, almost beautiful, and the charm of its style is singularly original. The first merit—and it is a great one—is that the statue is entire and exceedingly well preserved. This alone in the whole series of Apollos has not its legs broken off at the knees, and the relief is nowhere affected. The face might still have been cut in successive planes of a block of wood; there are no delicate lights and shadows

on the flat surfaces. In passing the finger over the brow and cheeks and round the cheekbones, hard, unyielding edges can be felt. The ears are not in relief at all, and hardly have any thickness; they are stuck against the hair quite in the wrong place. A simple groove, like a penknife cut, marks the eyes. The lips are formed by two bevelled planes. The square chin, flat below, is joined by a hard right angle to the large neck, which is hardly at all curved. The torso, arms, and thighs are better modelled, though they are neither supple nor accurate, the anatomy being either faulty or too elementary. The shoulders slope too much, and the breasts are too drooping; the waist is too small and too much curved in behind; the pelvis is far too narrow. The thighs, arched too much behind, are too flat in front; the triangle formed by the lines of the legs and belly is far too long. The arm from the shoulder to the elbow is short, and too long from the elbow to the wrist. But the legs from the knees downwards, on the contrary, as happens in very early periods, have a more pliant and natural attitude. The simplified modelling of the knees and kneecaps is very naïve; but the planes of the tibia or shinbones, though a little hard, are true, and accurately placed. The calves of the legs are well joined



Fig. 65.—Apollo of Tenea (Glyptothek, Munich).

to the slim and sinewy ankles. The small feet are really artistically modelled, almost scientifically, although they turn inwards, and the contrast presented by their almost feminine elegance is astonishing. But besides much praiseworthy technique, what is striking and attractive is the strange new charm of the smiling face. The god, or athlete—for it might be the statue of an athlete, or perhaps of some dead man become a hero—is ugly, and his face silly. His smile is beatified, like that of a man who likes posing for his picture; the attitude is even a little ridiculous; but the spirit of candour shines through the faults and awkwardness of an artist who compels himself to study and interpret nature.

Finally, an important point must be noted. When any person who has not been warned looks at the Apollo of Orchomenos, or the Apollo of Tenea, for the first time, he will rarely fail to exclaim, "There is an Egyptian statue." The fact is, that the attitude really does recall numbers of Egyptian statues, of which some instances were quoted above. It is an entirely conventional attitude, in spite of the naturalness and apparent simplicity which arrests the attention in going through a gallery of Egyptian works, inasmuch as it is indefinitely reproduced, almost without variation, having merely the value of a stereotyped pose. The thought must occur that the primitive Greeks have borrowed the masculine type from Egypt, but with no servile imitation of the original, for the loan is confined to the attitude. It is much, certainly, but not everything; the anatomy, the archaic smile, the complete nakedness, the technique, which give the real value to the statues, are purely and truly Greek.

Bas-relief differs essentially from sculpture in the round; it is at once an easier and a harder art. It is easier, first, because the figure to be represented has only one aspect, only one side; the spectator had not to turn round it, it is a projecting silhouette. Moreover, this figure is supported by the surface from which the carved parts are in relief; it is possible to have a slender neck, an outstretched arm, an advancing leg, an open hand, a fragile object delicately carved, without fear of breakage. Consequently there is from the very first a certain amount of variety and movement in bas-relief. But, on the other hand, from viewing objects in general as bas-reliefs, projecting from, but attached to, the various depths of the backgrounds, the eye becomes accustomed to errors in foreshortening and perspective. How long and arduous, then, will be the search after technical processes which will give a just impression through the falsification of nature; the hand must slowly feel its way to facility in expressing what is seen by the eye under a form which is not the real form. If it is easier to copy nature by taking casts from it, as it were, than by interpreting it; sculpture in the round ought to have outstripped sculpture in bas-relief, and first attained to perfection.

But the hieratic origin and technique of sculpture, as is well known, retarded its progress. Bas-relief threw off its fetters earlier. Whilst statues are still all alike, and are reaching by slow degrees the stage at which we have left them, bas-reliefs become diverse and complex, and give at the same period the impression of a more advanced art.

There is a legend that a young Corinthian woman,

to whom love lent ingenuity, outlined in charcoal, on a wall, the shadowed silhouette of her lover. Her father, Boutades, filled up the outline of this surface with clay, and the art of bas-relief was born. It is a graceful tale, but it confuses two entirely distinct periods. Bas-relief at first, and for long, must have been a simple drawing; the chisel engraved in hollows the first charcoal tracing, and to this naïve and simple process, which the Egyptians, as was seen, always used side by side with others, are due the stelæ of Mycenæ (fig. 49). Here the rudimentary chariots, harnessed to unshapely horses, mounted by monstrous coachmen, form countless groups or rather designs, possessed of movement and almost of life.

Progress began on the day when a sculptor cut away with his tool the surface reserved between the figures, to contrive a hollowed background. This process was long in favour with the Egyptians; whilst its persistence in Greece is shown by the bas-relief of Samothrace (fig. 68), and in the beautiful stele of Philis, in the Louvre Museum; also in the frieze of the Heroön of Gjoelbaschi, transported to Vienna. Finally, when to the relief gained by the lowering of the background was joined that due to the modelling of the projecting figures, when the conventions of perspective were discovered and admitted, the sculptors had nothing more to gain save a dexterous touch and a refined taste.

The first attempts at arrangement are easily realized from the study of existing monuments. Thus it will be noted that the profile of a man, bodily or facial, is more distinct and characteristic than a full or three-quarter view. The eye, on the contrary, is of a

simpler form when viewed from the front than the side. The consequence is, that the archaic bas-reliefs, like the vase drawings, will exhibit, after the example of Egypt, profiles of men and women whose eyes are drawn from the front. Such is a fragmentary funeral stele of a Discophoros (the discus carrier), found in the wall of Themistocles, at Athens. There need be no

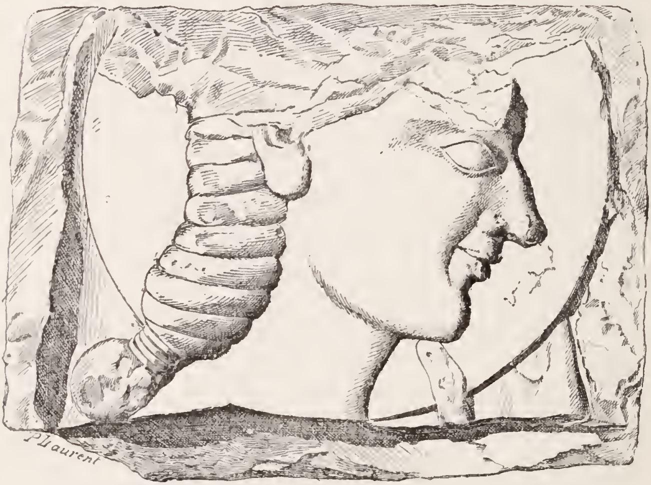


Fig. 66.—Stele of the Discophoros (Central Museum, Athens).

hesitation about considering this head (fig. 66) as one of the most ancient surviving monuments of Greek sculpture in bas-relief, and as contemporary with some of the men's figures studied at the opening of this chapter. Not to speak of the pronounced smile, which it may be noted is as good as a date, a striking resemblance will be found between this face and that of the Apollo of Tenea. The brow is flat and receding, the

eye almond-shaped and very near the nose; the nose is sharp, the chin retreating, the hair divided by a band in horizontal parallel layers. Nothing of the body except a portion of a leg has been found, but one would naturally suppose it to have been naked, and in attitude like the archaic Apollos, except for the left hand, which is raised to support the quoit behind the head.



Fig. 67. — Stele of Aristion (Central Museum, Athens).

The well-known stele of Aristion, the work of Aristocles, would seem less ancient (fig. 67). The warrior, once wrongly named "Warrior of Marathon," armed and wearing helmet and cuirass, dates about the sixth century B.C. The elongation of the face, however, the crimping of the hair and beard, the adjustment and colouring of the armour (the paint is preserved), in spite of the hanging arm and advancing foot, all denote a more practised and accomplished art than the head of the Discophoros. There is the same distance between the two works as between the Apollo of Thera, for instance, and the Apollo of Tenea. A stele strikingly similar to that of Aristion, but more advanced in style, has been recently found in American excavations at Dionuso.*

* See an article by Mr. Carl Buck in the *American Journal of Archæology*, March 1889, p. 9, pl. 1, where the whole subject of these stelæ is discussed.

The two preceding bas-reliefs are Attic, but similar monuments are not lacking outside of Attica. The bas-relief of Samothrace (fig. 68) (Louvre Museum), already referred to for the method in which the relief is obtained, and which represents Agamemnon, seated before Epeios and Talthybios, is not much earlier in date than that of the Discophoros. According to Asiatic convention, the three figures are clothed. The characters of the inscriptions, which are incised between the figures, seem to point to a period not later than the 60th Olympiad (540 B.C.). The peplos, the hair in ringlets, the general attitude of the bodies walking stiffly, are those of the Apollos and the Discophoros. Here must be noted, however, several striking characteristics certainly due to Eastern influence. Above the figures a little band, decorated with palm leaves, is quite of Asiatic fashion; below them is a band, adorned with a plaiting in Mycenæan style. The carefully-dressed beards, the ample garments, wrapped round the rather short, thick-set bodies, recall the kings whose images were found in the country of the Tigris and Euphrates.



Fig. 68.—Bas-relief of Samothrace (Louvre Museum).

On the other hand, a funeral stele found at Orcho-

menos, the work of Alxenor of Naxos, is like the Aristion stele in technique, in the archaic faces and well-combed hair and beard (fig. 69). That this Orchomenos stele is certainly a little later than the stele of Aristion, is proved by the inscription of the base, and by the right foot and leg appearing in foreshortened view. There is also an attempt to get an easier and less naïve attitude, and a visible effort to arrange a familiar group, a pictorial scene.

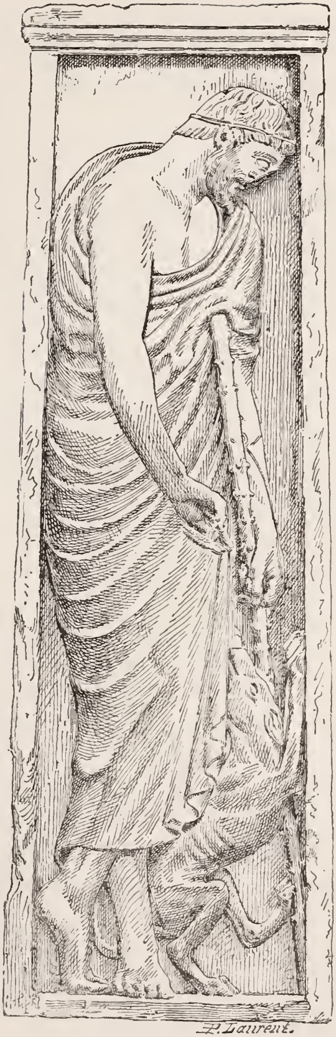


Fig. 69.—Stele of Alxenor of Naxos (Central Museum, Athens).

The type of female statue which has been described is also found on most of the bas-reliefs of the same era. No archaic bas-relief had been discovered containing a representation of a female xoanon.

Bas-relief has evidently a different origin

from sculpture in the round; and, besides, its first steps were freer and less constrained. The types represented by the Artemis of Delos and the archaic



Fig. 70.—Woman in a chariot (Acropolis Museum, Athens).

female figure of the Acropolis recur frequently. An early Attic bas-relief, of very fine work, preserved in the Athenian Acropolis Museum, represents a

woman mounting in a chariot (fig. 70). The face is a good deal broken away, the hair does not fall in masses on the back, or in ringlets on the breasts, but is twisted up behind on the nape of the neck. Her outstretched hands hold the reins; one foot rests on the chariot, and one on the ground. There are marked differences between this and the statues found in the same place, which are easily explained. A short, firm coiffure was necessary on account of the violent exercise. The costume, however, unlike the coiffure, has not changed. It consists of a long transparent tunic which clings to the bust, the knees, and calves of the legs; a closely gathered under-chemise, and a mantle whose pointed ends fall in symmetrical waves. It is not easy to say certainly who the woman represented is. She must, I think, be a goddess, as the ordinary woman or priestess would scarcely be represented mounting a chariot; and it is worth noting that there are in this same Acropolis Museum a number of small coloured terra-cottas, in which Athene herself, distinguished by owl and ægis, mounts a chariot just in this same fashion. Between this fragment, this chariot-goddess, and the votive scene reproduced in fig. 71, a bas-relief likewise found at the Acropolis, there is perhaps some difference in age. This last is a little later, to judge by the complex and happy movement of the picture, and by the attempt to pose three-quarter figures. Yet, nevertheless, the feminine type reappears exactly as before. Except for the helmet, which here plainly distinguishes Athena, the attitude, gesture, and dress are those which have been already studied. As if to confirm the importance of the monument, and to mark

more clearly its date and origin, the profile with receding brow, sharp nose, wide-open eyes, and projecting lips, is singularly like the profile of the Discophoros and the Apollo of Tenea. The fact that the goddess in this scene is distinguished by a helmet is a strong argument against the supposition that the series of women figures also represent Athene.

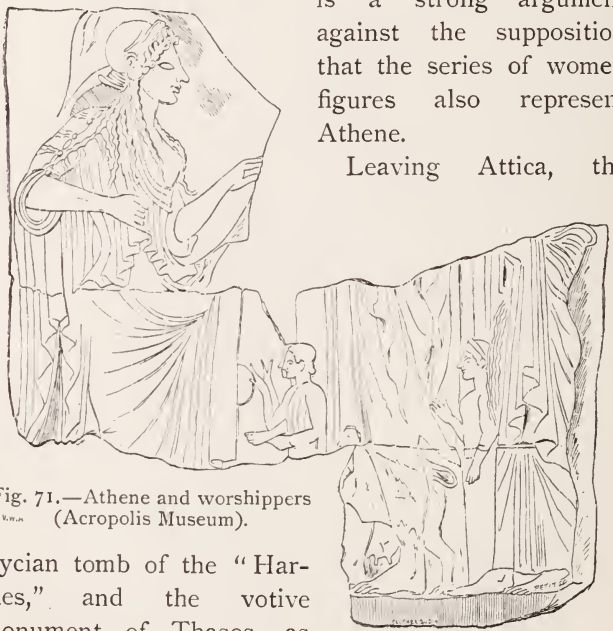


Fig. 71.—Athene and worshippers (Acropolis Museum).

Leaving Attica, the Lycian tomb of the "Harpies," and the votive monument of Thasos, as far as execution goes, and the type, sculpture, the subjects chosen, and even the style of composition, appear to be chiselled by hands akin to that which sculptured the bas-reliefs of the Acropolis.

The meaning of the strange scenes represented on the walls of the tomb at Xanthos is not wholly clear (fig. 72 reproduces the west side). Various scenes are

represented which it is not easy completely to unify. Seated figures, presumably deities, are approached with offerings; on the four corner slabs are figures of winged monsters with women's heads and breasts and the claws of birds of prey; harpies or—as they might be more fitly called —death sirens: they bear away the miniature figures of souls. Fortunately our concern here is with the style rather than the significance of these reliefs, and even the most casual



Fig. 72. — "Harpy" tomb of Xanthos (British Museum).

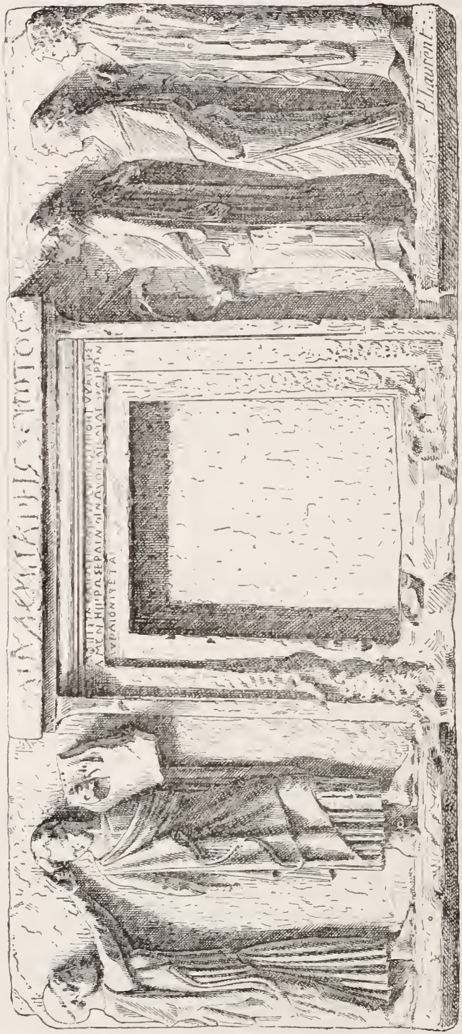


Fig. 73.—Apollo and Nymphs (Louvre Museum).

observation shows at once a certain analogy to the sculptures already discussed. Like the statues of Delos and Athens, like the women on the stelæ of the Acropolis, all the female figures are clothed from head to foot in fine, folded tunics, which they sometimes raise with one hand. Women, harpies, or sirens, all are crowned with a diadem from which long curling tresses flow on the breast, and whose masses form a network on the neck, in what is now for us the classical coiffure before the Persian wars, unless, indeed, the artist preferred to coil up the hair on the neck in the graceful twists

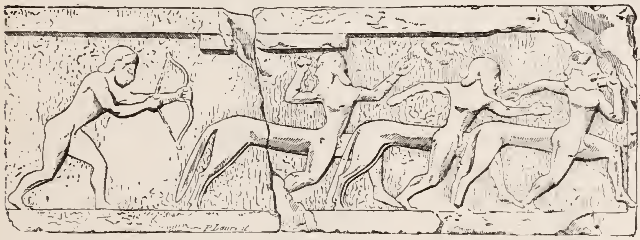


Fig. 74.—Bas-relief of Assos (Louvre Museum).

which so well become the chariot-goddess of the Acropolis.

It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to call detailed attention to the nymphs and graces whom Apollo and Hermes are leading upon the monument of Thasos (fig. 73). Again it is the same art, employed in representing the same type; the same style, so common and widespread throughout all parts of the Hellenic world, of examples could be multiplied, and which may, perhaps, properly be termed the Ionic manner. There is, however, certainly an evident advance in the pose of the Apollo who stands almost full face; and

in the drawing of the nude legs of Hermes, which is very skilful. These two figures are distinctly ahead of the more conventional women forms.

But it must not be said that those different types, and these only of statues and bas-reliefs, are to be met with exclusively in these primitive eras wherever Greek civilization began to spread; nor even that they only are to be found in one particular region in one special town, like Athens.

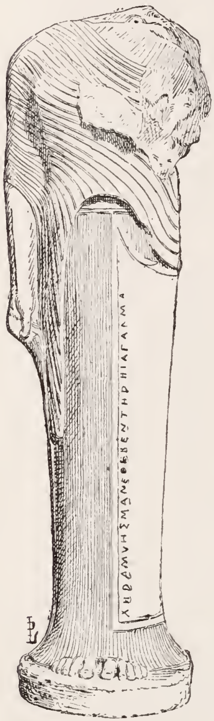


Fig. 75.—Hera of Samos (Louvre Museum).

Art, even at its birth, had no such narrow limits, and there are many monuments which, without at all weakening the conclusions which have been reached, deserve to be signalised as curious and important exceptions. In Asia, archaic statues bear undeniably the mark of Eastern influence. Such are those which decorate the sacred avenue of the Branchidæ (fig. 52), cold and impersonal works; and such the bas-reliefs like the frieze of the old Doric temple at Assos, upon which bands of animals, passing or meeting, alternate with battle scenes between men and sea-gods, with banqueting scenes, and even with Herakles chasing the centaurs (fig. 74).

The Hera found at Samos (fig. 75), with legs swathed

in a robe enclosing them like a round sheath, giving to the whole the look of a column, is far removed from the ordinary type. A statue very similar in type has recently been found on the Acropolis at Athens, and



Fig. 76.—Winged Nike of Delos (Central Museum, Athens).

presents a striking contrast to the regular type of archaic statues discovered there. If the inscription on the robe of the Hera of Samos is to be trusted, the statue dates at earliest from the last years of the sixth

century B.C., when already art was freer and less limited by conventions. And besides, the Hera of Samos is doubtless only a rather refined and beautified version of the ancient Hera *Sanis* or Hera the *plank* statue venerated by the Samiens, and a sister to the Hera *Kīōn* or *Column*, dear to the inhabitants of Argos.

The winged Nike (fig. 76), the work of the Chians, Mikkiades and Archermos,* son and grandson of Melas, is certainly more ancient, and may be ascribed to the end of the seventh century. She is not straight and motionless like the other Delian statues; she is trying to run or fly, and the naïve sculptor, to give the illusion of this action, has thought of no better way than to make her almost kneeling. In the woodcut it should be noted that only the shaded portion of the figure is original, the rest a purely conjectural restoration; probably the left foot should not touch the basis. The attitude is odd enough, but was currently accepted by vase-painters, and was adopted for a number of little bronze figures, which are found widely scattered and abound on the Athenian Acropolis—figures of Artemis, Gorgons, or Victories.

Even at Athens, on the Acropolis, where the general style of sculpture is more definitely uniform than elsewhere, several statues or statuettes in marble of seated goddesses and women show sensible deviations from the recognised type, chiefly in attitude, but also in style. One of these is particularly important, if we are to recognise in it, as some have wished, the Athena of

* The most recent discussion of this figure and the inscription is by Mr. J. Six, *Mitt.*, 1888, p. 142. The previous literature is cited here.

Endoios, pupil of the legendary Dædalus (fig. 77). It gives us the seated type of the goddess—rare in statuary; and, compared with the almost Egyptian immobility of the Branchidæ seated figures, the figure is vital and articulate.

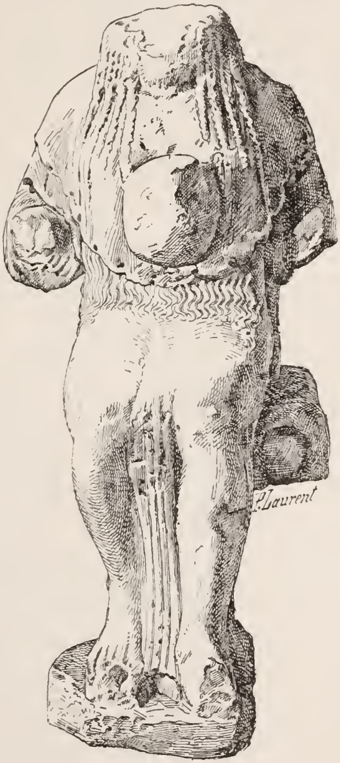


Fig. 77.—The "Athena of Endoios" (Acropolis Museum).

The statue given in fig. 78 deserves special attention, both on account of its great dignity and beauty, and also because of the interest of its subject and the approximate certainty of its date. It has usually borne the name of the Hermes Moschophoros (the calf-bearer), but there is no adequate reason — except the analogy of the function of the god as Kriophoros, *i.e.*, ram-bearer — for supposing Hermes is represented. Far more probably we have in the statue a youth, possibly a priest, or more probably a victorious athlete, bearing on his shoulders the victim he is about to offer to the gods. The statue, as seen in fig. 78, has been known for many years; as a composition it has few rivals; the

perfect serenity of the pose, the bold straight line of the figure of the calf, give it a strength and dignity not



Fig. 78.—Hermes Moschophoros (Acropolis Museum).

easily attained. Some technical points should be noted: the figure is not nude, a close-fitting sort of corselet is worn, the effect ot which may originally have been helped out by paint. The eyeballs are hollowed out, the pupils missing; no doubt they had originally been filled in with either enamel or some precious stone. A beautiful instance of the use of a brilliant for the pupil of the eye may be seen in a small archaic bronze in the British Museum. In 1887 renewed interest was aroused in the Moschophoros by the discovery of a basis with the remains of a delicate foot in the same

Hymettus marble, and with the same peculiar marble stains. The proportions of the foot suit those of the Moschophoros figure admirably, so there is little doubt of the identification. On the basis, in letters of the early sixth century B.C., is inscribed "Konbos, son of Palos, dedicated (me)." The name of the sculptor is unhappily not given.

In Sparta, above all, and in the neighbouring Dorian countries, the sculptors best preserved their independence. Numerous funeral stelæ discovered near Sparta have in the last few years arrested the attention of the archæologists. They are very like one another, but very unlike in subject and in execution to the bas-reliefs which have been described; they are the work of an independent school, whose existence is in part explained by the peculiar traditions of Peloponnesian mythology.

A stele from Chrysapha, a village near Sparta (fig. 79), represents two figures (doubtless two persons who have become demi-gods), seated upon a large armchair. The person in the foreground—man or woman, the sex is undetermined—turns a full face, although seated in profile. With the right hand he holds before him a great cantharos, the left hand is outstretched and the open hand is in the act of pointing. In the background, the other figure, doubtless a woman, entirely in profile, holds in the right hand, upon the knees, a pomegranate, and, with the left, she extends a portion of her veil. Behind the seat a serpent is coiled. In front of the group two very tiny figures, small of stature because they are human beings in the presence of gods or heroes, bear an offering which consists of a cock, a

flower, and two round fruits. Nothing—except the composition of the scene—could be more naïve than the technique of the bas-relief. The relief is very low, and except the face of the first figure, whose arched nose, big eyes, hollow cheeks, and long, thin, pointed chin seem to stand out with the exaggeration of a caricature, there is no attempt at modelling, either in the nude or in the draperies. The flat arms are sculptured in anatomical detail, the garments are plastered on without relief, striped with cross or perpendicular lines to imitate folds, and these figures in stone or marble might be of wood. With a few variations, the group on the Spartan stelæ is always the same, and the hand of the worker seems neither to seek for nor to obtain any further development.

The whole series can best be studied in the local museum of Sparta, but the relief, given in fig. 79, the best specimen of all, has passed from the Sabouroff Collection into the Berlin Museum.

Nevertheless, and in spite of all these differences which have been deliberately emphasised, there is a strict relationship between the monuments which have just been described and those from which they have advisedly been distinguished. The pose of the statues of Branchidæ might either be Egyptian or Assyrian; but the long, carefully executed draperies, the large simplicity of the symmetrical folds, are already far removed from Oriental manner. The Hera of Samos, with her well-developed, matronly bust, to which fine woollen draperies cling as if damped, with the little stiff folds of her robe (which are, as it were, the flutings of a column), is the sister of the Delian figures

of Artemis, or the female statues of the Acropolis. In spite of the uncouth rudeness of her hands and feet, and her odd shape, she is like them in the attitude of her hanging right arm, in that of her left folded



Fig. 79.—Stele of Chrysapha (Berlin Museum).

upon her breast, as well as in the effort at refinement in her draperies.

The winged Nike of Mikkiades and Archermos is very closely related to the Artemis of Nicandre. To see this the head only need be examined, with its flat curls

about the brow and temples, and long locks falling on the shoulders, the drawing of the almond-shaped eyes, the flattened nose and full lips, thick chin and frozen smile, the ornament, too, of her robe, bordered with coloured bands,—all tell the same tale. The Athena of Endoios, with less feeling for feminine refinement, less delicate chiselling and less art, recalls, nevertheless, and that very closely, the execution of the sculptors to whom we are indebted for the archaic masterpieces of the Acropolis. There is less cleverness, but a similar purpose, in the hand which has wrinkled the light, pliant, woollen drapery over the body of the goddess, and if the head had been preserved, this head, as can be inferred from the curls and clinging mass of hair behind, would smile like the others with the naïve and mysterious archaic smile.

Not to insist over much, if we return at once to the Spartan bas-reliefs, striking similarities are to be found even in the midst of marked difference. The profile of the figure on the background of the stele of Chrysapha, and perhaps also those of the little standing men, with receding brow, sharp nose, and big eyes, not sunk in the head and drawn from a front view, recall the profile of the Discophoros and the Apollo of Tenea. Sometimes, too, the edge of a peplos appears, or a *himation* falling in equal folds, balanced with conscious care, though a little clumsily, just after the fashion which is already so familiar.

There is certainly a family likeness between all these works, and common traits unite those which seem farthest apart. One more example may be given. The most striking thing about the Apollo of Orcho-

menos or of Thera, is the heaviness of the badly-hewn bodies, which look short in spite of their real height. They give the impression of strong, thick-set, ugly men; there is the brutal impassiveness of a stupidly ugly face. It is a type and a pose perfectly successful in the Moschophoros, but perhaps in that one instance only. The rigour of his attitude has a purpose; he supports the calf. His head may be somewhat inexpressive, but the square of his shoulders is a strength and a delight, and the whole composition is perfectly at rest. The more it is looked at, the stronger and more satisfying it is seen to be.

Finally, however, two antique metopes of Selinus, now in the Museum at Palermo, must be mentioned, which appear at first sight to baffle criticism: Herakles carrying the Kerkopes, and Perseus killing Medusa (fig. 80). There is much individuality in the bold manner of the relief and the grouping of the figures, which denote the same pre-occupation with conventions and the same processes as the works already described. The figures are fat and short; their round muscles project in unnatural relief, whilst the feet and hands, with an awkward attempt at elegance, become more slender just where they are attached to the foot and arm. The faces of the brigands or the monster, like those of the gods, are broad, heavy, and brutally ugly; but the characteristic details of the period reappear. The faces are in full view, the bodies in three-quarters, whilst the legs are in profile, in the well-known attitude. The Gorgon kneels in an effort to run, like the winged Artemis of Delos. The hair of the Kerkopes falls to the right and left of their heads

(they are suspended by the feet) in a triple string of beads, like the hair of the Moschophoros. The Athena who is aiding Perseus has exactly the same coiffure as the Apollo of Tenea, and the tunic falls in regular folds like the draperies of the statues of Delos or the



Fig. 80.—Metope of Selinus (Palermo Museum).

Acropolis. In conclusion, resemblances have long been noticed between these famous metopes and some monuments like them of Dorian work. On a curious stele found in the neighbourhood of Sparta, now in the Sparta Museum, Orestes is slaying Klytemnestra with the same action with which Perseus beheads the Gorgon.

III.

KANACHOS—THE PEDIMENTS OF ÆGINA—ANTENOR.

For Antenor, E. Gardner, Archæological Report for 1888, 1889, in *J. H. S.*, 1889, where certain points in Studniczka's argument are criticized. Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, ii., 1887, p. 135, taf. 10.

There is, as a rule, a transition stage, sometimes slow and painful, between the naïve works of primitive times and the perfect achievements of classic masters, a stage attractive only to the curiosity of the savant. It is to some minds like the tiresome, long-drawn pages of a story which few care to read. In Greece, this period is short, but full of instruction and interest. No other people ever passed so quickly from the groping uncertainty of infancy to the assurance of ripe age. It would seem difficult, at first, to say how many years separated the workers who blocked out the xoanon of Nicandre and those sculptors who so lovingly plaited the tunics of the archaic statues of the Acropolis. But there is certainly less than a century between the latter and Phidias, and that is the century of Kanachos, Kalamis, and Myron; or rather of the masters of Argos, Sicyon, and Ægina; for it is a distinctive feature of the period that artistic centres, rather than definite schools, were formed, each with a life of its own.

Already in the works that have been studied, two

natural streams might, and often have been distinguished. These are the Dorian, including the sculptors of the Peloponnese, Bœotia, and Sicily; and the Ionian, whose waters flowed round Asia Minor, the Greek islands, and Attica. These streams often ran parallel, and are sometimes blended one with the other. At the period now reached, if the metaphor may be further developed, it would seem as if these streams had found lakes, where they found a resting-place, and places widened out, so as to be specially favourable to their development—places which they, in turn, have rendered famous. Faithful to our method of speaking only of surviving works, and leaving out the sculptors known only by the mention of some historian, or the eulogy of some critic, we go straight to Kanachos, the most ancient of Sicyonian masters.

His great work was the Apollo Philesios, in bronze, which he chiselled for the temple of Didymas near Miletus, a replica of which in cedar-wood decorated the temple of the Ismenian Apollo near Thebes. Some coins of Miletus give a vague idea of these statues. There are several very ancient monuments, which may be fairly close copies of the Apollo of Kanachos. Some are small bronzes; one at the British Museum, the Payne-Knight Apollo; two others, almost identical, the Apollo of Naxos at Berlin, and an Apollo found in the temple of the Apollo Ptoös by M. Holleaux. Further, there is a marble statue from the same source, and another smaller one, known as the Strangford Apollo (British Museum), and finally the precious bronze Apollo of the Louvre, the Apollo of Piombino. The god stood erect, with his left foot slightly advanced. The arms,

pressed to the sides as far as the elbows, were then raised and stretched out to hold some attributes. The Payne-Knight Apollo carried in his open right hand a little crouching fawn. The closed left hand carried a bow. His hair falls in a mass on his neck, and in long curls on the shoulders, in archaic fashion. The Piombino Apollo is in the same attitude, but the fawn or other attribute, whatever it was, has fallen from the right hand, and the hair, knotted on the nape of the neck in the shape of a chit, does not fall on the shoulders. The socket of the eye is hollowed out, to hold a globe of some shining material; the lips and nipples, by a refinement of grace and delicacy, are incrusted with red copper (fig. 81).

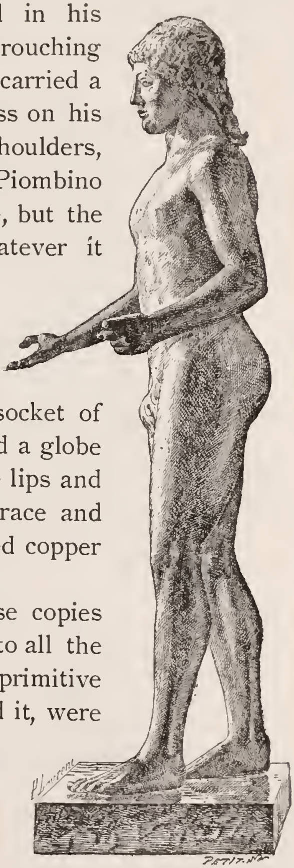


Fig. 81.—The Piombino Apollo (Louvre Museum).

Kanachos, to judge by these copies of his masterpiece, still clung to all the methods and conventions of primitive art. His works, as Cicero had it, were "more rigid than nature." His Apollo seems to be the last of this rich series, the fruits of the study of generations. This Apollo is the direct descendant of the Apollo of Tenea, but the features of the race are now fined down. The action of the outstretched arms is

still very uncertain; the advancing foot gives to the body, which is still a little short and massive, more equilibrium than lightness. The anatomy of the muscles still shows a want of science, notwithstanding a visible effort after natural modelling. It is apparent, however, that the artist felt the need of freeing his art somewhat from the restraint of conventions. If the arms are by the sides, the elbows, at any rate, are drawn back, thus breaking up the parallel vertical lines. The shoulders slope, the head is bent forward, and the chest breathes in and out. There is no longer merely facility, but almost life, and we can understand what the talent of Kanachos was,—rude still, but delighting in the tranquil posing of robust limbs; still faithful to the consecrated types of the antique idols, and yet instinctively prompted to weaken the conventions, if not to break with them utterly.



Fig. 82.—Bronze head from Herculaneum (Naples Museum).

If the criticism of the ancients is to be trusted, the bronze head found at Herculaneum (reproduced by fig. 82), will, together with the Apollo Piombino, be particularly valuable in enlightening us upon the style of Kanachos. A marked advance is evident from the period, not so very far distant, when the archaic statues of Thera and Orchomenos were hewn. Under this head, it is well to insert the archaic head from the British Museum, shown in fig. 83, which forms a striking contrast with the preceding one. But, perhaps, if one of the statues of victorious athletes from the hand of Kanachos, to which ancient writers refer, had reached us, we should have been astonished to see what liberties the sculptor had taken with the artistic traditions which he found obtaining at his time. The thought of him rises naturally to the mind, in the study of certain archaic fragments,—the marble head in the Rampin collection (fig. 85), for instance, or that which has passed from M. O. Rayet's possession to the Jakobsen collection at Copenhagen.



Fig. 83.—Archaic head (British Museum)

This last (fig. 84) distinctly recalls the archaic Apollos. It is of brutal aspect, with its great, oblique eyes, separated by a big, flat nose, the prominent cheek-bones, thick-lipped mouth, blunt expression, and large muscular neck. But a new influence is felt, the hand of an original artist, a frank observer of reality, a lover of nature, rendering even her deformities. There are the swollen ears of the prize-fighter, the flesh puffed by blows received, the thick hair, cut close for convenience in fighting, arranged with a symmetry which expresses force rather than grace.



Fig. 84.—Archaic head (Jakobsen collection).

The other, the Rampin head (fig. 85), possesses the same very clear characteristics; it is of great antiquity, but not quite so rough. The eyes are less dull, the thinner lips are more expressive, but the originality of the sculptor is shown above all, and that very forcibly, in the crimping of the hair and beard, of exaggerated elegance and too artificial regularity, following a fashion as yet unknown. An important detail must be observed, the oak-branch which crowns the athlete. This token of victory which identifies the person, marks an advance, and is the first step towards distinction between the

different types represented. A little later these types became so clearly differentiated that the attribution of a statue is rarely doubtful.

It is not improbable that the statues of the pediments of the temples of Ægina may give an exact idea, if not of the style of Kanachos himself, at least of the stimulus given to their art by the masters of his era.

The talent of Onatas, the most celebrated of the Æginetan sculptors, and of his son Kalliteles, was in all its glory about the year 465; therefore they are contemporary with Kanachos. To gain some idea of the style of these old masters, it is perhaps best to examine a small bronze in the medal-room of the National Library in Paris (fig. 86); it is probably a Herakles in combat. The left outstretched arm holds a fragment, which may be as if to parry an attack, and with the right he is about to deal a great blow with a club. Friederichs (*Bausteine*) and M. O. Rayet (*Monuments de l'Art Antique*) are inclined to consider this statuette as a reduced copy of a celebrated work of Onatas, consecrated by the Thasians at Olympia between 510 and 465 B.C. Undoubtedly the same qualities noticeable in the little bronze will be seen



Fig. 85.—Head of an athlete (Rampin collection).

to re-appear in certain statues of the Æginetan pediments. Such characteristics are the bold action, the already advanced scientific knowledge shown in skeleton and muscular anatomy, and the same archaic



Fig. 86.—Herakles (?) in combat; bronze (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

faults of stiffness and immobility which prevail, in spite of the effort after life. If it cannot be proved that Onatas and his son had a hand in the Æginetan pediments, they did at least sculpture groups which, in style and composition, closely resemble these pedi-

ment sculptures now in the Munich Museum. It is known that Onatas represented the scene where Nestor draws lots for the warrior who should meet Hector in single combat. The scene comprised ten figures: Nestor, and nine competing heroes.

It was in 1811 that a party of English and German travellers discovered these Ægina marbles; nineteen statues in Parian marble, broken into many fragments, and fallen down around the temple of Athene, which they had once adorned. They were skilfully restored by Thorwaldsen, and are now the chief glory of the Glyptothek at Munich.

As now set up there, each pediment includes eleven figures, but M. Lange has shown that each group is probably composed of fourteen persons, arranged in strictly symmetrical order. Only one of the pediments, the west one, is complete. It represents the fight between the Greeks and the Trojans over the body of Patroclus, with Athena presiding. Of the eastern group, which represented Herakles and Telamon fighting with Laomedon, only five statues and a few fragments remain. But the composition is in the main identical both on the east and west sides. In the centre, Athena stands erect, and witnesses or takes part in the fray. At her feet is a wounded hero, over whom five warriors are contending on the right, and five on the left, standing or kneeling, armed with spear or bow. At either angle, to the right as well as the left, a fallen hero reclines on his elbow, and draws an arrow from his thigh or leg. At the summit of each pediment two little statues of women stood erect, by way of *acroteria*, supported by the traditional palm-ornaments.

The composition is both simple and scientific. The bodies stand, bend, kneel, or recline in a very clever way, accommodating their attitudes to the inflexible shape of the triangle; and the interest is centred, quite naturally, in the very middle of the space to be decorated, upon the principal person—the wounded hero whom they are dragging away, or possibly upon the goddess who directs the combat. The instinctive feeling for symmetry and parallelism, which bound the primitive sculptors to cold and stiff monotony, has to the Æginetan sculptor been more serviceable than embarrassing. The eye as well as the mind is satisfied in following the natural, strict, and almost necessary development of these epic scenes. But this rigid parallelism is not the only vestige of archaism. Each figure, considered separately, bears, as is natural, the mark of its date, and betrays the influence of the works of the past.

The Æginetan marbles are by no means freed as yet from the fetters of tradition, and the advance marked by them, though very great, is not complete. But here a caution must be entered; the nineteen statues are certainly not from the same hand; between them there are obvious differences. It has been asserted—and the assertion is a safe one—that the statues of the eastern side are more finished, perhaps more recent, than those of the west. To take some examples, the Athena of the western pediment has all the appearance of an archaic image (fig. 87). Standing in full view, her feet are posed in profile; the ægis is plastered against the shoulders and breasts with a metallic harshness. A heavy, stiff robe falls from beneath it to the feet, whose



Fig. 87.—Athena of Ægina (Glyptothek, Munich).

dry regular folds are imposed, not by the form of the body it envelopes, but by the sculptor's will. It might be compared to the folds of stuff stiffened with starch and polished with ironing. The firm, upright head is attached to the shoulders by a powerful neck, with no pliancy whatever; the action of the arms, one bearing the spear and the other the shield, is natural, but ungraceful. The blunt-featured and expressionless face has no beauty, save an air of strength and divine impassivity, to which is added the dubious expressive vacancy of the Æginetan "smile." The name is not inappropriate, as it is in the statues of Munich, and especially in the Athena which has just been described, that the archaic smile was first noticed; and this is the very place to quote some lines in which that discerning critic, M. Heuzey, has explained its source and meaning.

"It is a pure affectation, one of those conventions by which artists believe they can increase human beauty. I see in it, above all, an endeavour after expression, closely linked to the great original effort of the ancient Greek schools to animate the face. The artist, after having turned up the corners of the mouth with a marked smile, sees that the balance of the features is lost, and in obedience to a naïve law of parallelism, he carries out the same principle in the eyes, forcing them to smile with the same upward slant as the lips. Eastern etiquette imposed an immovable face upon the images of the kings and gods; in the free life of Greek cities, the chiefs of the people, and even the gods themselves, like to appear amiable, and seek to become popular."

The statues of the warriors, on the other hand, are much more natural than the hieratic figure of the goddess; they seem almost alive. The fallen Patroclus, the two heroes reclining at the two angles of the group, certainly bear no marks of suffering on their faces, as wounded men should. Their bodies show signs neither of the weakness nor the convulsions which in turn prostrate or shake the dying. Their muscles neither stiffen nor swell with pain; they are simply cast down upon the ground, in very natural, though already somewhat complicated, attitudes. Patroclus is leaning upon his left hand, which still brandishes a short sword, as if to continue the struggle. It seems as if he refused to accept the fatal blow, and still resisted death. The two wounded men, stretched on their sides, supported on their elbows, are drawing out the arrow which has pierced them. But they do not suffer from their wounds; their bodies are robust and healthful as those of the upright or kneeling warriors who are still fighting with spear or bow; life beats strongly and obstinately in these bodies from which the blood is not drained. If all those fierce combatants must still be accounted archaic, it is because of their cold, rigorous faces, uncontracted by passion, and their muscles, strong and stiff, and unsoftened by grace. The artists who sculptured them were no longer the slaves of an obsolete tradition. They knew not only how to vary the attitudes, to give independence to each limb, and to shift the momentum and vary the balance, of the human bodies. But they have made advances in what is a more difficult and delicate matter,—better and almost complete knowledge of human anatomy, the

proportions of the skeleton, and the details of the muscular system; in a word, the play of motion and life. They retain the old ignorance of what makes a body individual. The type which they continue to reproduce has changed; it is less naïve, no longer coarse, and is more real, only keeping from the former type to which they had become attached, the strange, frozen smile and careful dressing of the hair. But this type, like the first, is ceaselessly reproduced; the same head and body can be recognised in various attitudes, and as it has been very well said by the ancients them-

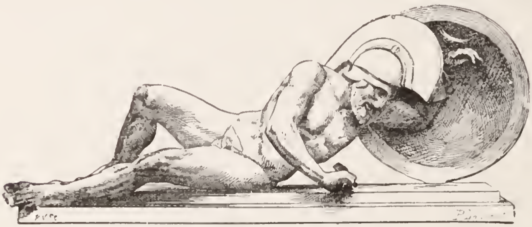


Fig. 88.—Wounded warrior of Ægina (Glyptothek, Munich).

selves, the characteristics of this school and this era are still the stiffness and hardness from which the Dorian genius was so rarely able to free itself.

These qualities and failings reappear, though less strongly marked, in some statues of the Eastern pediment. The central Athena, entirely resembling the other as to armour and dress, has emerged from hieratic torpor. The goddess is no longer covered by, but armed with, the ægis which she spreads out, its edges all bristling with serpents' heads. She no longer holds, but brandishes her spear; she is not only a witness of the battle which rolls by her sides, she is

now a combatant. But she is still very awkward, and petrified, as it were, even in her warlike impulse. The bearded, dying warrior in the left angle (fig. 88), on



Fig. 89.—Herakles, the archer of Ægina (Munich).

the contrary, and Herakles shooting with his bow, (fig. 89), belong to a much more advanced conception, and a much more scientific execution. The demi-god,

who is balanced upon his right calf and heel, having the body bent slightly backwards to resist the forward action of the arms, which pull the string, and propped on the left leg, the head very upright, with fixed look, will remain, in spite of all this, the type of the strong, muscular archer, sure of his aim. He is a little heavy too, and the modelling of his naked limbs is somewhat hasty; but the heaviness is force here: simplicity when intentional should rather be called restraint. The lion's head which forms the helmet, the stout leathern breastplate, from which small plated scales are suspended round the waist, and out of the sleeve holes of which a thin pliable shirt appears, all show that the sense of the picturesque is already alert. As for the wounded man (finely reproduced in fig. 88), he really *is* wounded, and is not merely a body stretched on the earth. In a last effort, the hero tries to support himself against his shield, but his head, weighted with the helmet, heavy with anguish, droops to the earth. His face is almost lit up with the gleam of pain, the muscles of the body are convulsed, whilst the legs stretch out and give way already, in death. The warrior, in spite of some surviving relics of archaism, may be said to be the most beautiful statue of any in the two pediments, even surpassing the Herakles, who is, nevertheless, accurate in action and design. The wounded warrior is little short of a masterpiece. If these precious marbles could now be placed above the architrave of their temple, restored with their bronze ornaments, and the brilliant colouring of which several retain the traces; if these pediments of Ægina could be viewed in such a brilliant restoration as that conceived in the

rather extravagant vision of Mr. Charles Garnier, it would be frankly admitted that the childish gropings are at an end, and that Greek statuary is fast reaching perfection.

This also authenticates the only Athenian monument of this period,—an almost unnecessary proof. As may be supposed, the Ionian genius in Attica was rather in advance of the Dorian than otherwise. The statues of the Acropolis, whose date is certainly previous to the Persian wars, possessed rare qualities. There was more than a promise in them, nor need we be surprised that the ancients themselves asserted that the group of the Tyrannicides was almost a masterpiece. This group was the work of Kritios and Nesiotes, and its date can be fixed without much dispute about the year 476 B.C. Even the error of Pliny the elder is comprehensible; by a serious anachronism he made these two sculptors the rivals of Phidias.

When Harmodios and Aristogiton had killed the tyrant Hipparchos, the sculptor Antenor,* by order of the Athenian people, chiselled a bronze group of the two martyrs to liberty. The group, borne off, as a victorious trophy, by Xerxes to Ecbatana, was replaced in the Athenian Agora by the work of Kritios and Nesiotes. The two marble statues in the Museum

* It is a point much disputed whether extant copies echo the original group by Antenor, or the copy by Kritios and Nesiotes. The question cannot be decided, but it certainly seems more probable that the earlier group, made more famous by its temporary loss, would be the more popular of the two. The question does not seem to me of much importance, as undoubtedly Kritios and Nesiotes would do their utmost to be faithful to the styles and compositions of their predecessors.—TRANSLATOR.



Fig. 90.—Harmodios (Museum of Naples).

of Naples (fig. 90 only reproduces the younger of the two heroes), in spite of some inaccurate restoration, probably give a fairly adequate notion of the character of the original group. Harmodios and Aristogiton, as is shown by a coin of Athens (fig. 91) and other monuments, are rushing forward straight to the attack. The first, the younger and more eager of the two, is naked, like an athlete. He brandishes a short sword above his head, and his left hand, hanging down, grasps a dagger. The second, calmer, though quite as valiant, with his outstretched left

arm, which is draped with a short mantle, holds the sheath of a sword. The sword itself arms his right hand, which is drawn back. His attitude is less violent, being that of the attack which takes thought for defence. The young and beardless head of Aristogiton on the statue at Naples does not belong to the group, it is of far later date; the elder hero, as sculptured

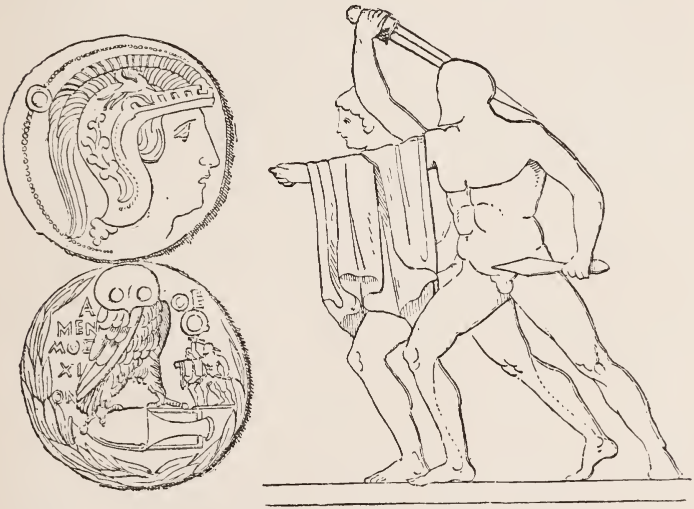


Fig. 91.—Harmodios and Aristogiton (Athenian coin). Design enlarged.

first by Antenor and then by Kritios and Nesiotes, was no doubt bearded.

Whatever distrust certain details of the Neopolitan statues may inspire, admiration must be conceded to the boldness of the artists who laid aside without difficulty the narrow conventions which twenty years afterwards, or more still, bound the Athenian sculptors.

They created instinctively an art which was free, sincere, and very individual. The sculptors of Ægina were guided by the form of the pediment itself in the grouping of their figures, and upon the whole the grouping denotes a skill which is more happy than scientific; in that matter their art was merely the handmaid of architecture. But Kritios and Nesiotes, in the full independence of their sheer genius, have made of the two conspirators, rushing to a common action, a real group, not a mere symmetrical juxtaposition. Each of them, indisputably, has separate life; neither the pose nor the action of the one is repeated in the other, and nevertheless they rush forward with common impetus to perform the same heroic deed. The force of each seems to double that of his friend, and Aristogiton without Harmodios would seem to dwindle, and in like manner would Harmodios without Aristogiton. It is characteristic of a well-arranged group that it gives a single impression; that each figure, without losing anything of its personality, is but a part of the whole, a factor necessary to the perfect balance as well as to the complete intelligibility of the scene reproduced. Moreover, one of the greatest difficulties of statuary, especially in groups, is overcome; to speak simply, one can *go all round* the Tyrannicides. From whatever aspect it is viewed, in front, from the sides, or behind, the lines of the two bodies are seen to cross or follow each other in a harmonious design.

As for the execution of the statues, it is easy to determine to what point Kritios and Nesiotes felt the influence of their predecessors. The Neapolitan marbles bear many traces of archaism borrowed from

their bronze model. Lucian, in his *Rhetorical Precepts* (p. 9), characterizes archaic art in a passage so charming, that it must be quoted : "The old-fashioned teacher," he says, "will bid the young orator, if he would attain perfection, imitate the ancients, and he will place before him forms not easy to be imitated, like the works of the old masters Hegesias, Kritios, aud Nesiotes, and their fellows, constrained, severely rigid, and exactly outlined, and he will tell him that watching and water-drinking and perseverance are essential and inexorable." This is rather a severe, and of course a purely comparative, criticism, since this hardness which Lucian notes is modified by bold attitudes and lively action.

The head of Harmodios certainly resembles the work of Antenor and the predecessors of Kritios and Nesiotes more than that of Kalamis and Myron or their successors. In this head the hasty technique of the ancient bronze work is displayed,—in the hair, for instance, in the low brow, large eye, little sunk beneath the arch of the eyebrow, in the thick mouth, and the aspect of the face, cut short and square at the chin. Even the bodies, long and thin, in the Ionian style, have the slender waist and flattened belly which were observed in several of the archaic Apollos, in contrast with their large shoulders and the ample muscles of the breast.

If the recent conjecture of Dr. Studniczka be correct, there is among the archaic statues found in the Acropolis one which is actually from the hand of Antenor, who has inscribed his signature on the base to which the statue has been fitted. As we are unable to reproduce this statue here, detailed criticism of it would be useless ;

but it may be noted that the head in question, placed side by side with the head of the Harmodios in the Naples Museum, certainly presents striking analogies. If the conjecture be ultimately confirmed, which seems at present doubtful, it is of course to the Acropolis statue rather than to the Harmodios group that we must henceforth look as the undoubted expression of the style of Antenor.

IV.

KALAMIS AND MYRON.

For the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo controversy: Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Griechischen Plastik*, 1869; C. Waldstein, *J. H. S.*, i., pp. 168, etc., and ii., p. 332; Winter, *Jahrbuch*, ii., 1887, p. 234. For Kalamis: Benndorf, *Festschrift* (Vienna, 1879).

The criticisms of Lucian will be less surprising if we remember that Kalamis and Myron, the contemporaries of Pheidias, were open to them just as much as Kritios and Nesiotes.

Kalamis, if he was not himself an Athenian, was the master of an Athenian sculptor, Praxias, and himself worked at Athens. Some are of opinion that he played the same part during the administration of Cimon as, it will be seen, Pheidias played under Pericles. This would date his activity between 500 and 460 B.C. The loss of few works is so much to be regretted as those of this sculptor, who, by the unanimous testimony of antiquity, was famous for a style quite peculiar to himself, a style which endowed Attic art afresh with a charm she already had in a measure attained, that of grace. As many as twelve masterpieces of this peculiarly-gifted master are on record: statues in marble, bronze, gold, and ivory, and especially two race-horses, destined to perpetuate the victory of Hieron of Syracuse, at

Olympla, in 468 B.C., a group which was declared by the ancients to be unsurpassable. A female statue, also, which stood in the Acropolis, was specially celebrated; it went by the name of Sosandra. Lucian said, when he was trying to picture an ideal type of feminine beauty with features borrowed from the most famous masterpieces: "Sosandra and Kalamis will adorn her with modesty; her smile shall be grave and discreet like that of Sosandra, from whom also she will borrow the fair and seemly folds of her drapery, save that the head shall be uncovered" (Lucian, *Imag.*, 4 and 6.)

We can only judge of these wonders by hearsay; possible copies, however, of another famous work of Kalamis have come down to us, *i.e.*, of the Hermes bearing a ram consecrated at Tanagra in Bœotia. Of these possible copies, one statue, in the Pembroke collection, in England, should specially be noted. The god is bearing a ram upon his shoulders, as before the Moschophoros has been seen bearing a calf. As in this statue, he has seized the animal by the feet, which he holds against his breast. He is standing with his legs close together and the feet joined and level. The two ends of a drapery fall to the right and left with perfect symmetry, behind the shoulders, down to the middle of the calves of the legs. Hermes is bearded; his carefully-dressed hair is crimped on the brow, and enclosed with a band from which two curled tresses hang down on the breast. The pose and the details of costume are certainly tinged, and more than tinged, with archaism. Ancient critics had, we may suppose, some occasion for slight strictures on Kalamis; but

side by side with these vestiges of a dying art—vestiges which Kalamis seems to have purposely retained, for he was certainly capable of freeing himself of them—that grace is also to be found which was his peculiar glory. It is displayed here in the pliant and firm youth of the body, the grace of the slender waist and purity of outline, even in the ingenious adaptation of the winged heels, whose little curved pinions, rising on either side of the ankles, seem to give the statue more to stand upon without making it at all heavy. If the theory of certain authorities is accepted, that the Hermes sculptured in bas-relief upon an Athenian altar (fig. 92) is directly inspired by the statue of Tanagra, we have a by no means unworthy echo.



Fig. 92.—Hermes Kriophoros, Ram-bearer (Central Museum, Athens).

The profile of the face, framed with crimped hair, gracefully lengthened into the pointed beard, is exceedingly fine; the bend of the waist, and action of the arms holding the ram's feet, are very pliant. This shows, as well as the Pembroke statue, in what particulars Kalamis still clung to archaism, but it expresses better than it the peculiar genius of this great sculptor. It must, however, be frankly owned that, save for the subject and the peculiarly delicate grace of its treatment, there is no reason whatever for connecting this lovely relief with Kalamis.

The theory has been started that another work of Kalamis is very familiar to us, in the Apollo found at the Ceramicus in Athens. Of this several good copies might very easily have been preserved, and a statue in the British Museum, known as the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, has been supposed to be a replica. This opinion it would be difficult to support, but the statue nevertheless deserves careful study. The "Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo" (fig. 93) is a tall, robust, young man, stout and large-shouldered, who stands in a very simple attitude of repose, the left leg being slightly bent. His body is fully and simply built, not without some traces of archaic heaviness. In spite of this, however, the god, if he is one, is refined and graceful. The irresistible impression of the whole is due, doubtless, to the felicitous harmony of the lines and to the striking effect of the youthful muscles, generously and soberly modelled. The head, taken by itself, sums up the good qualities of this interesting work. The hair, bound by a tress a little back from the brow, falls round the head in thick, short tufts and is divided

on the forehead in two unequal masses. This is the first time that symmetry has been neglected, and the effect is certainly a graceful one. The face, framed in this finely-arranged hair, also bears the mark of a new art, which recalls the art it supplants. The sculptor has not as yet the distinct intention of creating an ideal type; a man, or rather an individual, whose face had an exceedingly personal expression, must have sat for him. This may be guessed from the marked way in which the lower lip protrudes, and from the rather heavy and roundly prominent chin. But though the artist has kept those distinctive features of the model, his instinct and his genius have weakened their faults by

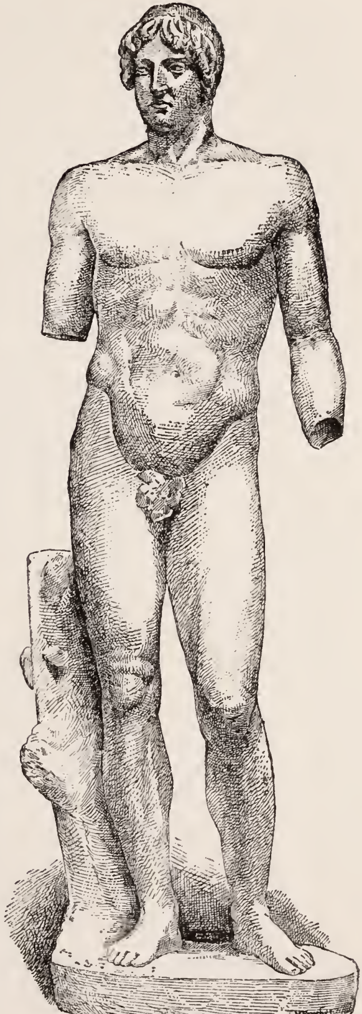


Fig. 93.—The "Apollo" Choiseul-Gouffier (British Museum).

bringing into harmony with them the length of the nose, the width of the face, and the rather liberal fulness of the oval. He has succeeded so well that this half real and half idealised portrait of a vigorous athlete leaves us with a distinct impression of grace—of manly grace, be it understood, very far removed from all affectation or delicacy.

There is, perhaps, no statue in existence which has been the subject of more controversy. One group of archæologists see in it an athlete statue after the manner of Pythagoras of Rhegium; another a replica of an Apollo by Kalamis,—a lesson indeed, if one were needed, as to the extreme uncertainty of such conjectural attributions. The Berlin Museum statue, however, and the group with which it is associated, should, none the less, be carefully studied, as in them only can a certain moment of transition be clearly apprehended. This transitional style is perhaps better understood after the study of the sculptures of the Olympian pediments, with which these Attic transitional sculptures have much in common. It is noticeable that when in the first century B.C. there came a revival of early influence, a return to something of archaism of manner, it is these transitional sculptures that influence the works of art of the school of Praxiteles. There is about these statues, still bound as they are in the fetters of tradition, yet to whom life has already come, a curious air of restraint—expectancy that gives a certain melancholy and a wholly indefinable charm. This is nowhere so well seen as in the beautiful head of a youth recently found in the Acropolis, and which cannot be figured here.*

* See "Archæology in Greece," J. E. Harrison, *J. H. S.*, 1888, fig. 3.



Fig. 94.—Vatican copy of Discobolos after Myron (Rome).

Grace is by no means the leading characteristic of the art of Myron, whose work, by good fortune, is more distinctly known to us than that of Kalamis or Pythagoras.

Myron, born at Eleutheraé, between Athens and Thebes, a pupil, like Pheidias, of Ageladas of Argos, and a contemporary of Kalamis, was a bold innovator, whose boldness was thoroughly appreciated by the ancients. That grace, always so charming, which Kalamis added to art deservedly struck the ancients. It is a quality whose characteristic is that of delicate gradation, made up entirely of a certain refinement, and even slightness, as difficult to express by the chisel or pencil as by the pen. But the advance made by Kalamis, which it was difficult for inferior artists to imitate, did not appear to the ancients so important as the achievement of Myron in sculpturing the Discobolos.

Lucian* has described this great statue delicately and truthfully. It represents an athlete stooping to gather force that he may throw a discus as far as possible. His head is turned towards the right hand, which is thrown back, holding the discus, and the whole body follows, so to speak, the motion of the head. The right leg, firmly planted on the ground, is bent at the knee to keep the balance; the left leg, almost doubled, touches the ground with the end of the foot, without resting on it. The Discobolos was in bronze.

A famous marble of the Massimi alle Colonne Palace in Rome, and another of the Vatican (fig. 94), are copies of unmistakable merit. This is proved by the attitude

* *Philopseud*, 18.

of the figure, corresponding so exactly to the antique descriptions, by the vigorous style, by certain details in the muscles and methods of modelling, and by the dry technique peculiar to bronze statues and to marble copies of them. But the opinion of Quintilian * may be taken, with some mitigation, as the true one: "What could be more contorted and laboured than the famous Discobolos of Myron?" For the fact is that if the Discobolos were suddenly perceived at the end of a gallery, containing exclusively such statues as have been hitherto studied, *i.e.*, archaic statues, simply, even monotonously posed, exception might be taken to the rather violent attitude. The inference would be that Myron's effects were unduly studied and elaborate.

But it is in this very matter that the art of Myron is singularly bold. Before his time the sculptors were restricted by the necessities of an immature technique, and were guided, perhaps, by an intuition of the general conditions of statuary. They usually arranged their figures in a restful attitude, or at least chose positions which could be preserved by the whole body and each of the limbs for long periods without strain or fatigue. Neither their imagination nor their skill was tempted by exceptional attitudes, violent, unenduring moments, as things beyond the proper limits or resources of their art. Sculpture arose, doubtless, from the need of giving bodily forms to the Divinities, dimly conceived of in the dreams of the devout. Its scope could easily be restricted to uprearing petrified idols in the silence of the sanctuaries, images whose cold stiffness, gestureless immobility, and heavy, sleepy

* *Inst. Orat.*, iii. 13-8.

repose gave them an indefinable and mysterious majesty. The infant art of sculpture, possessed of few tools and of very rudimentary processes, was timid; it did not dare to detach an arm from the body, nor to make one leg in advance of the other. To these material hindrances was added the conservative popular veneration for the oldest images of the gods. All this, if it did not arrest progress, prescribed to it a narrow path.

Kritios and Nesiotes, and the group of the Tyrannicides, must not be forgotten. The two heroes are hastening to their exploit with one impetuous rush; they lift their hands, armed with daggers, with a violent gesture. This gesture, however, is not a simple, passing movement, a momentary disposition of the muscles; it is not merely material, it is the strong and living expression of the feeling which impelled Harmodios and Aristogiton—that prompted their vengeance. The attitude of the two heroes, full of action as it is, yet remains very restful, and posterity could not figure to itself in any other way the heroes of Athenian liberty. Myron, on the contrary, has turned his Discobolos to stone at the exact moment when the quoit is about to fly from the hand which throws it. In this moment, or rather in this fugitive second, the whole vigour and pliancy of the limbs is concentrated, soon to be followed, though the eye cannot easily seize the transition, by a general relaxation of the muscles, when the body is again erect and motionless. It might be one of those specimens of rapid photography (the comparison, of course, must not be overstrained) where the movements of the muscles are seized in the very

midst of their development; where, for instance, a man is seen mounting steps, with his foot suspended between the step he has just left and that upon which he is about to tread.

But supposing the Discobolos to be alive, it is evident that flesh and blood could not sustain without fatigue, save for a moment, the tension of the right leg and arm, and the bending of the left leg, hardly supported by the extremity of the toes. Though this is undeniable, Myron's exact observation and the sureness of hand which served him in his bold conception may be admired without reserve. For the action of the Discobolos was all the harder to seize because of its brief actual duration. A clear, quick vision was required to see it, bold resolution to select it, and a rare knowledge of the play of the muscles and the laws of equilibrium to reproduce it. It is the honour of Myron and the crowning praise of the Discobolos that everything in this masterpiece, the general position of the body as well as anatomical details, is in accordance with nature. Yet it is certainly not a realistic art which forces itself to copy slavishly the chosen model even in its faults, but one which, disliking to improvise recklessly, in a free or irregular style, observes with a wide and judicious vision, aiming at truth without loss of independence. For if accuracy is carried too far in some things, as in the movement of the hanging left arm, and the true and natural disposition of the fingers, other particulars are treated with perfect liberty. The head is of great interest on this account. Athletes, whose profession it was to develop their muscular forces, certainly had rare bodily vigour and suppleness.

They were generally beautiful — their perfect forms offered excellent models to the sculptors. But if one may judge from some heads which are certainly portraits, the works of true realists (figs. 81, 82, 95), the mere life and the exercise of the athletes only gave rough and sometimes animal characteristics to their *faces*. Of such realistic treatment the bronze head in the Olympian Museum is a marvellously fine specimen, but athlete heads are not always brightened by that light of intelligence without which even material beauty is imperfect. We say nothing of the wounds which defaced the nose, ears, and mouths, and produced actual ugliness and deformity. The head of the Discobolos has not this quality of truthfulness, and is in this sense an idealistic work. The short hair in large masses, unspoiled by parallelism or symmetry, the bulging brow, the large features, are well in keeping with the vigorous frame of the body, and are really those of an athlete. But the repose of the face must be noticed, in which not a muscle is contracted, as would appear the necessary effect of such an effort. Doubtless Myron had an ideal of a beautiful masculine



Fig. 95.—Bronze head of athlete (Olympia Museum).

face, and any alterations in its lines appeared to him merely as contortions; he probably reserved to himself the right to deal quite freely with nature. It is well to compare the head of the Discobolos with the head of the more ancient Choiseul-Gouffier statue, less original indeed in style and execution, but which seems akin because of the same inspiration and concern for the ideal type.

The same conception of the fitness and limitations of statuary which have been admired in the Discobolos reappear in the Marsyas, "seized with astonishment at the sight of the flutes." If it is admitted that the well-known statue of the Lateran Museum at Rome was directly inspired by this famous bronze, it will be recognised with no difficulty that Myron has again boldly chosen an exceptional movement, or rather the rapid phase of a movement. He has rendered it with admirable truth and feeling for nature. The astonished Marsyas throws himself backwards quickly, supported on his bended left leg. The arms of the statue are broken off at the shoulder, but it is known that the right, raised in front, seemed to shelter and protect the head, whilst the left, held back, had the large hand open in token of fear (fig. 96).

It would be impossible to express better, by attitude or gesture, astonishment and amazed repulsion; and the choice of the pose and gesture prove a rare faculty of observation. This has been confirmed by the single fact that a sculptor, wishing to restore the broken statue of the Lateran Museum, made it into a dancing satyr, because a sculptor always seemed to him to be more in his element when reproducing continuous movement.

Also because the rhythm of the dance alone, according to his opinion, could give some permanence to the action indicated by the pose of the body.

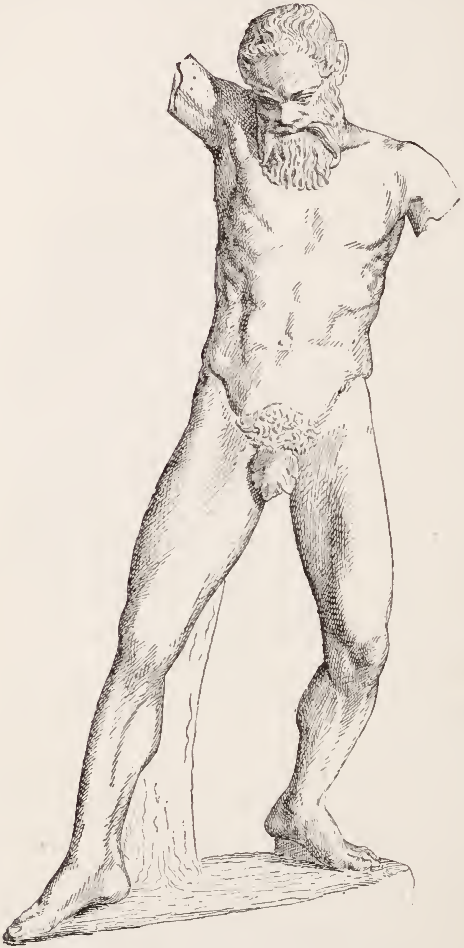


Fig. 96.—Marsyas (Lateran Museum).

This attempt of Myron's at the expression of rapid movements so especially characterises his work that a certain subtle critic would see in the Marsyas something remoter still, the struggle between two opposed motions, the right leg expressing a forward action which is concluding, the left arm and leg a backward one, which is just beginning. This is very ingenious, but

by no means impossible, and Myron's chisel was equal to so delicate a task. The head of the Marsyas reveals a new originality of this inventive genius. It is an expressive head. The sculptor wished to express in the face the same sentiments as in the attitude of the body. This is to be noted as the first attempt of the kind, for the archaic smile has been explained and justly estimated. The stupefaction and fright painted on the half-brutal face of the satyr show how well Myron succeeded.*

Finally, it would be rendering scant justice to Myron to leave unnoticed the great variety in his choice of subjects. They are borrowed for the greater part from every-day life. But his great talent for sculpturing animals must be clearly recognised, as indeed it was by the ancients themselves. The bronze cow of Myron was eulogized in numerous epigrams. "Shepherd," says Anacreon, "pasture thy flock at a little distance, lest, thinking thou seest the cow of Myron breathe, thou shouldst wish to lead it away with thine oxen." The small bronze cow given in fig. 97 serves to show the possible lively realism of such a subject, though of course it cannot be taken as an evidence of Myron's style.

Henceforth, thanks to Myron, sculpture emerges not only from childhood, but from youth. Mistress at length alike of her forces and her materials, the human form and its anatomy have now few secrets for her. Sculpture has attained the power of reproducing every

* For a discussion of the Lateran Marsyas, the somewhat analogous British Museum bronze, and various other depictions of the same scene, see O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique.*

attitude, and has discovered her right to represent every kind of gesture. She has learned that the face, the soul's mirror, must reflect its emotions, and that bronze and marble lend themselves, owing to the perfection of certain tools and methods, to the expression of the artist's every wish. The smallest effort will now be enough to free sculpture of the relics of dryness and hardness with which a very severe critic might still reproach her.

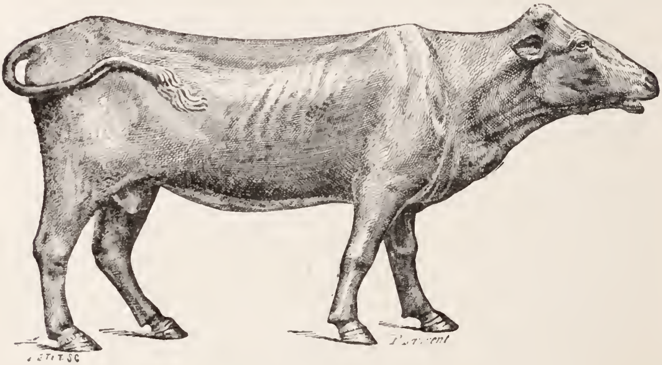


Fig. 97.—Bronze cow.

It is not surprising that Myron founded a school—certain works of exceptional value are so like as almost to be mistaken for his own work. The statue in the Munich Museum, of the athlete pouring oil into his hand, may be quoted as an instance. Others are due to the same inspiration, and show the same æsthetic feelings in the sculptor. A special interest is attached upon this score to a little bronze found near Sparta (collection of Mr. Edmund Rothschild). It is the most ancient surviving copy of an original which must have

been a great favourite, if we may judge from the number and value of the reproductions. A young shepherd or athlete, possibly a runner, seated upon a rock, is trying to extract a thorn from his left foot. The exceptional



Fig. 98.—Bronze boy (Rothschild collection).

attitude and rare freedom of the action, the simple and vigorous anatomy of the body, the strong head, with its thick close crop of hair, and the expression of the attentive face, all remind us of the observations suggested by the study of the Discobolos and the Marsyas

(fig. 98). Finally, some features of the type personified by the Discobolos were adopted for years after by very great sculptors, such as the marked prominence of the bridge of the nose, a singular detail, which appears, among a thousand other instances, in the reclining god the east pediment of the Parthenon, the Diadumenos of Polycleitos, and of the Hermes of Praxiteles.

V.

PHEIDIAS.

C. Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, in which previous literature is cited; popular *résumé* by M. Collignon, *Pheidias;* and Bœtticher, *Acropolis von Athen.* On the frieze especially should be read the chapter by Mr. A. S. Murray in his *History of Greek Sculpture*, vol. ii. Recently-discovered head of Iris, C. Waldstein, *American Journal of Archæology*, 1889.

PHEIDIAS, the Athenian, the son of Charmides, was born probably between 490 and 485 B.C. Possibly, like his kinsman Panainos, his first efforts were made in painting, but he soon preferred sculpture, which he learned at the school of Hegias (or Hegesias—the name is variously written) a contemporary of Kritios and Nesiotes, and afterwards at the school of the famous Argive Ageladas. It is a critical commonplace that Pheidias is the greatest sculptor of all time. His name has become the synonym for ideal perfection, and the word divine seems the most natural word for the glory of his genius. If Pheidias had come after Kalamis and Myron, if he had only carried to its zenith the art which they raised so high, and consummated a progress already so far advanced, his glory would be very great. But we obtain another and a higher conception of his genius when it is remembered that he started from exactly the same point as these two

masters, his early contemporaries. At the beginning of his career he had the same models, the same patterns, as they, and he surpassed both, and, in spite of their great works, left them so far behind that they cannot even be called his rivals. Moreover, the style of Pheidias was so perfect that even the great originality of Kalamis or Myron seems to have had no influence upon him, just as he himself apparently rendered no service to them. It must, however, always be remembered that we possess no certain work by either Kalamis or Myron; and even of Pheidias, as will be seen, only sculptures of which we can certainly say that they were executed under his direction.

There are two artists in Pheidias, the *sculptor* of the Athena "Promachos," of the Athena Parthenos, of the Olympian Zeus; and the *decorator* of the Parthenon. Pheidias carried on simultaneously the two divisions of his work which contribute equally to his fame, but they remain distinct. Unhappily, nothing remains of the first—which, according to the ancients, was the most personal, as it was the most perfect—of the statues which were entirely the work of his hand, and which would have revealed to us all the secrets of his incomparable genius. We have only obscure and incomplete descriptions, clumsy or inaccurate copies, often more treacherous than a translation. Many fragments of the pediments, frieze, or metopes of the Parthenon have survived, sublime still in spite of the ravages of time, and of men more barbarous than time; but the pediments, the frieze, and the metopes themselves are either not at all or are only in part due to the master's

chisel. Even if the theories most favourable to their connection with Pheidias are to be accepted, the conceptions of his genius and his sovereign guidance are to be recognised throughout, but his hand can only be conjecturally traced in a few figures of the pediments and in the design of the frieze, the models of which he must have worked out in close detail.

In the case of Pheidias it is well worth while to break the rule for once, and to describe the "Promachos," the Parthenos, and the Olympian Zeus as if these masterpieces still dazzled our wondering eyes in all their splendour of bronze, gold, and ivory.

The Athena Promachos, a colossal bronze which stood at the entrance to the Acropolis, is a work of the master's youth. It is ascribed to the last years of the rule of Cimon, but even then Pheidias was famous. The first statue attributed to him was a chryselephantine Athena, destined for the temple of the Pellene in Achaia. It was doubtless between the years 465 and 460 B.C. that he executed a votive group in bronze, dedicated by the Athenians at Delphi in remembrance of Marathon. It consisted of an assembly of divinities—Athena, Apollo, the tribal heroes Erechtheus, Kekrops, and others, and finally Miltiades, the great conqueror. A temple at Platæa received the Athena Areia, a statue of gilded wood, about the same time. But the Promachos is by far the most famous. It should be noted that there is no evidence that the statue was called Promachos in the days of Pheidias. The type was that of Athena Polias, a type reproduced on countless vases, and in several votive bronzes recently discovered in the Acropolis; possibly the statue obtained the title

Promachos when the new chryselephantine Athena was finished. (The first actual use of the word Promachos, as applied to the statue, is by a scholiast on Demosthenes). A little over nine yards high, it stood upon a large pedestal some way behind the Propylæa, the site of which can still clearly be seen. The end of the spear held by the goddess rested on the ground, while her left hand upheld the buckler, afterwards decorated with bas-reliefs by Mys. The helmeted head was bent towards the city of Athens, at which the goddess gazed with fond, protective eyes. So at least the statue appears upon several Athenian coins. It would appear from these doubtful memorials, and some rather vague texts, that the statue had scarcely any originality except its enormous height. The motionless, almost cold, attitude, and the style of the two tunics, falling in regular folds, recall the old masters and the tendency of the archaic school. Pheidias had not freed himself as yet from traditions. But it should be recollected that, according to Zosimus, in a passage possibly referable to the Promachos, the Goths who invaded the Acropolis recoiled in terror from the apparition of the goddess, armed to bar their passage. This shows with what an expression of majesty and superhuman courage Pheidias had replaced the melancholy stiffness or cold smile of the ancient idols.

But now Pericles succeeds Cimon. Athens, free and powerful, enriched with gold and the treasures of her allies, aspires to surpass the Hellenic world incontestably in all the glories of peace. Athens, the Piræus, Eleusis, the whole of Attica, are adorned with temples, and the temples are peopled with statues. Pericles

appreciated the genius of his friend Pheidias, and confided to him the management of his vast artistic projects. From the first he surrendered the Acropolis to his hands, on which was to be upreared that most magnificent of sanctuaries, the divine Parthenon, dwelling of the great goddess the maiden Athena, a temple intended to cast the earlier hecatompedos, which the Persians had sacked in their fury, wholly into the shade.

The Parthenon in its entirety is really the masterpiece of Pheidias. Ictinus was formally the architect; but no doubt Pheidias gave to every portion of the work its special impulse; the authority of his infallible taste is felt in the smallest details of the building or decoration. He conceived the marvellous compositions of the pediments, and possibly sculptured the most admirable figures in them. He designed the model of the freize, which unfolds its lordly processions and cavalcades round the body of the temple. He chose the subject and conceived the arrangement of the ninety-two metopes. He had a galaxy of famous collaborators—the architects Iktinos, Kallikrates, Mnesikles; the sculptors Alkamenes, Agorakritos of Paros, Kresilas, Kolotes, Paionios, and his kinsman Panainos the painter. But these he dominated so completely that no other monument owes its perfection more to the unity of the whole and the harmony of detail. Finally, he himself erected in the centre of this splendid sanctuary the great statue of Athena Parthenos, for which in ancient days men never found praise adequate to their admiration.

The beauty of the metopes may be said to have been over-estimated. In Doric temples it is known that the

recesses formed above the columns by the arrangement of triglyphs could be left empty, or decorated with bas-reliefs, according to the pleasure of the architect or the resources at his command. Thus the metopes were only accessories in the decoration; their importance in comparison with that of the pediments is very secondary. It was natural that Pheidias should surrender their execution to his pupils, and none of those which survive seem to bear the sign-manual of his own peculiar genius. Those best preserved belong to the south side of the temple, and their theme is one dear to the ancient sculptor, the struggle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. At the wedding of Pirithoös, where his friend Theseus, the great Athenian hero, was a guest, the drunken Centaurs wished to do violence to the wives of the Lapithæ, and a terrible struggle took place, in the very hall of the feast, between the aggressors and their victims. It is the same combat which reappears in the temple of Apollo Epikourios, at Bassæ, and upon the western pediment of the temple of Zeus, at Olympia. In the Parthenon it was difficult to evade monotony in dealing with such a theme, for it was necessary there to break it up into episodes, and none of the bas-reliefs could hold more than two figures. The sculptors were, doubtless, inspired by Pheidias, for all the pliancy of his fancy and his delicate taste are displayed. They happily avoid the danger, first by introducing other metopes, treating of other themes, among the metopes of the combat of the Centaurs; and secondly by an endless renewal, with variety of detail, of the simple theme of the monstrous combat between Lapith and

Centaur. As it has been very well said, there is a distinct unity amongst all the metopes in which the idea of the struggle between a Centaur and a Lapith is seen to develope. The sculptor traces it from its very beginning through all its phases. It is easy to imagine



Fig. 99.—Metope from the Parthenon (British Museum).

the varied and ever-fresh combinations to which this ingenious conception can be adapted. Thus, sometimes the undecided struggle between a man and a Centaur (fig. 99) is displayed, rarely the defeat of the man, sometimes that of the monster. One or other in turn lies

prostrate, or stands in conqueror's attitude, with foot or hoof planted upon the fallen foe. Here the Centaur is upon the right hand, there on the left, without any repetition whatever of an attitude or gesture which has been seen already. From time to time (there are two examples of this extant), the fighting Lapith is replaced by one of the captured women, whose floating robes and veils and more slender shape are a happy change from the nakedness and emphatic anatomy of the male figures.

This happy variety is completed by a difference in the execution. Merely to bring a few of the metopes together and compare the technique is a sufficiently convincing proof that they are not from the same hand. The relief in each is so bold, that the persons might as well be statues in the round, leaning against a marble background, as figures in bas-relief. This feature, foreign to the era of Attic tradition which we are studying, is a sure sign that the different sculptors received inspiration, perhaps teaching, or even commands from a common master. But when one comes to the details of composition and execution, here a group is to be found much more freely posed, with much more *verve* and well-chosen movement, whilst there is another which is less bold, less pliant, recalling too much the archaic hardness. Here again is a more massive Centaur; his feet are not so slender, he rears with less nervous force; there is less accuracy in the study of his limbs, like those of the Lapith, and they are less truthfully rendered. Some of the metopes are certainly superior to others; they come from the same workshop, but one is the work of a more practised sculptor.

As it has been stated before, the frieze is not chiselled by Pheidias any more than the metopes. The innumerable crowd of divinities, priests, youths, maidens, horsemen, and victims, who unfold their splendid procession round the interior of the temple for the length of about one hundred and sixty yards, sometimes majestically and sometimes gracefully, must have been the collective work of the ablest disciples formed in the school of Pheidias. As for the metopes, it has been long seen that the style of certain groups is unmistakeably inferior, although, at the same time, it is impossible to state that the sculptor relaxed on this point, for a different hand is to be recognised, different methods, and, above all, some reminiscences of archaic stiffness and dryness. But to no one but the master himself can the composition as a whole, and moreover the design, or, as artists say, the cartoon, of the frieze be ascribed. For it would seem that he alone was capable of such a novel and original conception. "A sculptor of the old school," says a discerning critic, "would have made the procession wind round the temple without beginning or end, like the bands of people figured by the painters of pottery on the Greek vases of the old style. Pheidias, on the contrary, has with marvellous skill contrived to overcome difficulties of perspective, to give his procession a starting-point and a conclusion, and all the figures are carried along by the same movement." Starting from the south-west angle of the Parthenon, one going to the right and one to the left, the two files of the train join again in the middle of the eastern façade on either side of the central group of deities.

The frieze represents, probably, the preparations for the sacrifice of the Panathenaia, and not the sacrifice itself. Even the central scene is only an episode of this prologue—the priest is giving his carefully folded sacred robe into the charge of a youth, or receiving it from him, before slaughtering the victims. This scene is supposed to take place inside the temple. If it be recollected how even the smallest details of religious rites were of the greatest importance to the Greeks, the skill of Pheidias will be appreciated in selecting for representation the moment when the procession is forming, and when the sacrifice has not yet begun. He gains in this way a freedom in the grouping, gait, and posture of the figures that move in his immense picture, which would have been inappropriate a few moments later, at the solemn time when the priest plunged his knife into the throats of the victims, amid a crowd of reverent spectators, symmetrically arranged according to custom. Owing to this happy choice, familiar groups of youths, women, or old men are seen to break the monotony of the procession already partially formed. The noble Athenian maidens bearing the sacred vessels, or the youths bearing the amphoræ, or the most beautiful old men chosen from the tribes to present olive-branches to the goddess, are already formed in grave and regular procession. But there are also citizens and magistrates of the city, leaning on their sticks in familiar talk. And farther off the victim cows are lowing in a confused struggle, seeking to break from their attendants, whilst a brilliant squadron of young cavaliers is being organised, the *jeunesse dorée*, the ornament and cherished hope of Athens. Up to this point, familiar and homely scenes

are intermingled with this splendid procession. Here is an Athenian busied in putting on his tunic; and near him a horse, while its master talks with his friends on foot, rubs off with his nose a fly which is stinging his foot close above the shoe.

To exalt with their presence the simplicity of these pictures, the gods, recognisable from their superhuman dimensions, by their majestic faces and noble-seated attitude, contemplate in two groups the magnificent procession which is forming in honour of Athena. One slab of the seated gods is given in fig. 100.

The position of the metopes, outside the temple in the open air and sunlight, allowed the figures to be hewn in a relief almost like round sculpture. The frieze, at the summit of the interior wall, in the softened light the peristyle, required a much less salient relief, and here lay a valuable possibility of success for the pupils of Pheidias, prepared for these works by archaic tradition. The funeral stelæ of Marathon must be called to mind, and those of Orchomenos or Naples, or the chariot-goddess of the Acropolis. For here again Pheidias made an innovation. He first realized that by giving to each of the figures a very low relief, several could be placed one above the other in different planes, and some figures could even be cut back into others, and the number of persons could thus be increased; whence come life and variety and the illusion of nature. Everywhere it is noticeable that the technique is carefully calculated on the supposition that the frieze is seen from *beneath*. It is not exactly known to what extent colour was used. The holes, which are visible here and there in the

mouths of the horses, for instance, point very clearly to the presence of gold or bronze in the ornaments



Fig. 100.—Three gods (Acropolis Museum, Athens).

and accessories, and they happily break up the white monotony of long surfaces of marble.

Each group, each figure, would require a long description ; but for the present only the majesty, and yet the freedom, of the general conception can be pointed out, together with the crowning qualities of the whole. The gods are seen to mingle with mortals, as certain episodes of every day are mingled with the religious sublimity of the procession. In the same way Pheidias, who towers above his workers from a great height, passes from delicate imitation of reality to the creation of the ideal. Here the devotees of Athena are displayed in the sacred train, draped in their ceremonial robes, dressed and adorned like real human beings. There, naked, or nearly so, are the gods, their supple, strong, and yet graceful bodies visible in the clear glory of daylight. Convention, truly, had found its place by the side of an exact observation of nature.

"The artist," writes M. Collignon, "has borrowed largely from convention. Real life has only furnished him with the elements of variety, which, scattered here and there in the ideal cavalcade, by a master's hand, take away from its uniformity and monotony. Here is the secret of the inimitable grace possessed by the figures of the frieze. These figures, so much alive, have an immaterial reality. This sacred procession, harmonious and orderly, slowly winding along; this train of cavaliers advancing in close, tumultuous crowds, all seem to move in an ideal atmosphere under the light of a divine sky." As for the actual qualities of the execution, they are those which at this epoch chiefly characterise the Athenian genius, and which can be summed up in one word—Atticism. That is to say, in literature and politics as well as in art, an exquisite

feeling for the right tone and natural proportions; an effort to attain pliancy without softness, grace without affectation, the love of sober and refined elegance; and all these gifts put at the service of a rich, original, and unfettered imagination. In this sense it can be said that the frieze of the Panathenaia deserved to become a model, and it is scarcely going too far to attribute to its direct influence some of the most lovely bas-reliefs that have descended to us from Attica. For instance, the balustrade of the temple of the Wingless Victory, and many a beautiful grave relief, which, signed by no artist's name, must be left unnoticed for the present.

Finally, the statues of the pediments demand our attention. People have often said that it is impossible that Pheidias could himself have sculptured more than forty colossal figures, or even that he could have made all the rough models. But his influence on the composition can be recognised without much fear of error.

As in the case of the metopes and the frieze, it is right to attribute to him, first and foremost, the invention of the subjects and the arrangement of the figures in the triangular pediments. The archaic abuse of symmetry in the Æginetan marbles must be recalled, the reproduction of similar attitudes on either side of the central figure. Pheidias has cast off this restraint. For although the form of the pediments exacts that the angle figures should have a lower position, Pheidias is, at any rate, the first to recognise and demonstrate that a geometrical arrangement, the regular character of the lines, slanting increasingly, is just enough to give to the whole

motive the character of architectural decoration. So the artist is entirely at liberty to compose scientific groups, to vary the attitudes, untrammelled by exact symmetrical correspondence,—to break, so to speak, with the rules of a superannuated convention, and seek for the variety and freedom of accident in life and nature.

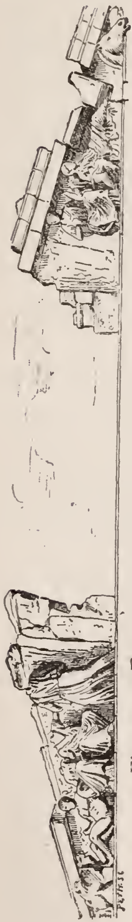


Fig. 101.—Eastern pediment of the Parthenon (Carrey's drawing).



Fig. 102.—Western pediment of the Parthenon (Carrey's drawing).

The sculptures of the east pediment were, it is known from Pausanias, entirely concerned with the birth of Athene, and that, the examination of the remaining sculptures may convince us, was conceived after the fashion of the Homeric hymn. Homeric influence is indeed traceable in the frieze, but it comes out most clearly in this eastern pediment.

First we have Helios and his horses rising from the sea,—Helios-Hyperion.

> ". . . And in Heaven Hyperion's bright son stayed
> His galloping steeds for a space."

And just in front of him, leaning on his own mountain, is the mountain god Olympos, who was terribly shaken at the birth of the goddess. Guarding his very gates are seated the figures of the two sisters Horæ, and to them comes the winged messenger, Iris, to tell of the news of the birth. The centre group of the birth itself has utterly perished. It can only be conjectured that Zeus himself was present, Athene, Hephæstos, and some other of the principal gods, such as habitually appear on vase paintings representing this scene. Passing to the north angle, Selene, riding on her horse, sinks into the sea, the sea herself (Thalassa) is reclining near at hand, in the bosom of Gaia, the earth. Both in the Homeric hymn were present at the birth—

> "And Earth on every side
> Rang with a terrible cry, and the Deep was disquieted
> With tumult of purple waves and outpouring of the tide
> Suddenly."

Near them is seated a goddess, to whom it is hard to give a satisfactory name, but she may be Hestia, symbol of the hearth of Olympos, where the birth took place.

Thoroughly Homeric though the main conception is, it need scarcely be pointed out how independent is the attitude of Pheidias,—how thoroughly plastic, how little pictorial, his imagination. Fully to appreciate the pediment as a composition, it must be contrasted with its long line of predecessors, with the archaic "poros" pediments of the Acropolis, that of the Megara Treasure House at Olympia, the Ægina pediments and those of the temple of Olympian Zeus. Then, and then

only, does its matchless rhythm come out, by contrast with their somewhat rigid symmetry. Thalassa, Gaia, and Hestia are three figures that balance the two Horæ and Olympos, a counterpoise both in posture and content; but with a rhythm how skilfully broken. Helios and Selene are an instance of balance no less satisfactory, yet no less delicately various. Selene, as has been well shown by Mr. Cecil Smith, *rides a horse;* she does not, as before supposed, drive a chariot.

In the western pediment, Poseidon is seen at strife with Athene. It is the contest of the *semeia*, or tokens offered by the god and goddess,—the horse and the salt sea spray of Poseidon, against the olive tree of Athene. Only one figure remains sufficiently intact to display the master's genius. It is the statue of the river god, who is reposing in the north-west angle, a figure the modelling of which is a marvel of pliancy.

It is by the drawings of various travellers, and especially of Carrey (figs. 101, 102), that the grouping of the figures in the pediments is known to us. The grievous history of the Parthenon marbles has been often related. It is well known that in 1687 a Venetian shell shattered the temple, which for two hundred years had been transformed into a mosque, and how the Venetians broke the statues and completed the ravages their shells had begun; how Lord Elgin took down many of the metopes, and two hundred feet of the frieze, and such statues of the pediments as time or war had spared. Now these precious spoils, reverently stored in the British Museum, are represented at Athens only by casts. We may not admire the masterpieces of Pheidias

in their own place, and, in spite of every effort, the imagination can scarcely figure the splendid lustre of all those gods, bathed in the pure and brilliant light of Athens, lifted upon the coloured background of the pediments, and themselves adorned with colours which we may judge from the genius of Pheidias to have been subdued and artistically harmonious.



Fig. 103.—Olympos (?) (British Museum).

And yet, wonderful is the life they still possess, even amid the British fogs, and in spite of the outrages of time and barbarians, these masterly fragments before which we are driven, as if instinctively, to utter the name of Pheidias. Expressions of praise have long been exhausted which could describe these statues, the most perfect which have issued from human hands.

When only one or two instances can be quoted, we

may select as a model of supple strength the divine body of the youthful reclining river-god* (fig. 104). It is not a slavish copy of nature, for nature has her shortcomings. The most beautiful man, most splendidly formed in living, full, healthful, and throbbing flesh, has some muscular imperfection, wasted by the action of daily life. The noblest and most graceful of his attitudes, taken from an unfavourable point of view, always display some collection of discordant lines, some unexpectedly prominent outlines. But this

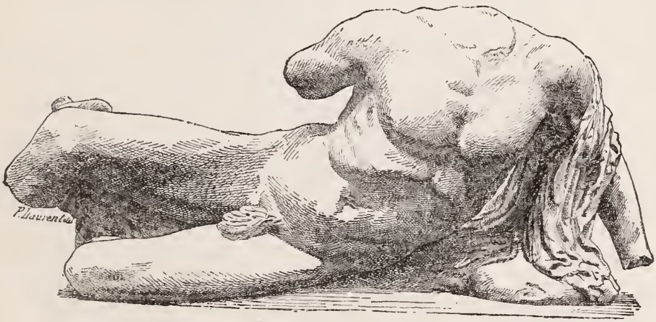


Fig. 104.—River-god, Eridanos or Ilissos (British Museum).

river-god, be he Ilissos or Eridanos, like the heroes and gods of Homer, is splendid with an entirely ideal beauty to which no mortal ever attained, and which nevertheless is only the quintessence of mortal beauty. Pheidias did not require to fall back upon the childish subterfuges of the naïve ages to give the impression of divine superiority. This god is no monster; he is

* Since Dr. Dorpfeld's investigations have shown that the *Eridanos* and *Ilissos*, not the Kephisos and Ilissos, were the two principal rivers of Athens, it seems to me probable that the name Kephisos, long sanctioned by custom, must be given up.—J. E. H.

unlike the river-gods on the Sicilian coins, with human face and the body and horns of a bull. But his divinity is revealed in his manly form, so pure in his accurate proportions, so natural in his unimpeachable anatomy, so pliant in his attitude of repose and calm.

The two statues in fig. 106 have now been severed from the third, which has been provisionally called



Fig. 105.—Horæ (?).

Hestia. So long as the group was considered to consist of three, the statue usually bore the name of the Fates. Believing as we do that the main inspiration of the pediment was Homeric, the Fates would be out of place, and appear indeed at the Birth of Athene only in monuments of Roman art, such as the well-known puteal of Madrid. Our conception

of the meaning of the figures is in this instance an undoubted help in the criticism of their technique. Even before the name Thalassa was given to the reclining figure, artists and critics alike had been struck by the marvellous undulation of the lines of her body, the ripple and flow—the words may be used here in a very determinate sense—of the drapery. The upright pose of Gaia, her steadfast energy, now also gain a new significance.*



Fig. 106.—Gaia and Thalassa (?) (British Museum).

Admiration has no words in the presence of such a perfect art, and yet it was not these masterpieces at which the ancients marvelled most. Pheidias had reserved all his genius for the divinity dear above all others to the citizens of Athens, for her for whom the Parthenon was only an earthly tabernacle, for her

* Various other interpretations may be seen in tabular view in the *Official Guide to the Parthenon Marbles.* The view here adopted, which is quite opposite to that of M. Paris, is, in the main, that of Dr. Brunn, but modified by Dr. Waldstein.—J. E. H.

who was to shine as queen in the shadowy sanctuary, for Athena. To the world in general she displayed power, but to her cherished city, protection. Armed in the front of the precinct, she defended the Acropolis, her sacred fortress; in the recesses of the temple itself she was to dwell supreme, in calm and grave Olympian majesty. Marble and bronze were not adequate to so much grandeur and royalty, to such lofty divinity; the Athena Parthenos must be embodied in dazzling gold and ivory.


Fig. 107.—Varvakeion, copy of the Athena Parthenos (Central Museum, Athens).

This masterpiece has perished; a few copies give a very vague and remote idea of it (figs. 107, 108). Of these, one is specially valuable, because in technique it somewhat approaches to the necessary complexity and elaboration of the chryselephantine style, the medallion figured in 108, from the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg. It was found at Kertsch, an Athenian colony, and it is not unlikely that some Attic goldsmith may have actually copied the masterpiece of Pheidias for export. The details of the helmet

decoration accord very closely with the account of Pausanias. Minute though the technique is, the style of the head is large; if magnified to colossal size it still retains its grandeur,—a good test of style. The type of the face may not be what modern taste calls beautiful, but its somewhat sullen majesty is undeniable.



Fig. 108.—Head of Parthenos on medallion (Hermitage Museum).

Moreover, the head of the Varvakeion statue (fig. 107), though much vulgarized, has somewhat of the same air, a fact that adds to the probability that the medallion is, if not an actual copy, at least a faithful reminiscence.

It is best to pass over in silence the laborious and scientific restorations, and the criticisms and praises,

of chryselephantine sculpture. Confiding in the taste of the ancients, let us rather marvel at the genius of the man who could create something finer than the metopes, than the frieze of the Panathenaic procession, or the reclining river-god—the Athena Parthenos, standing, her helmet on her head, leaning on her shield, bearing in her right hand the golden-winged victory. For he created a finer thing even than this, the Olympian Zeus.

The Athena was consecrated in 438 B.C.; in 435, in all probability, Pheidias was to be found installed



Fig. 109.—Athena of the Parthenon (Athenian coin).



Fig. 110.—Olympian Zeus (coin of Elis).

with his pupils in Elis. The legends which were current in antiquity about the last years of his life and his death are familiar. The great artist, accused of theft, of abstracting the public gold, is reported to have had to fly from his ungrateful country. The trial is authentic, but there is not even likelihood in the legends of the condemnation of Pheidias and of his death in the Athenian dungeons. It is much more likely that he cleared himself easily of the insulting accusations, prompted by envy, which, like lightning, as it has been said, strikes what is highest. It is quite

impossible that the priests of Zeus at Olympia would have chosen to confide the precious heaps of gold and ivory destined to form the immortal image of their god to a convicted and condemned betrayer of his trust.* "Zeus," in the words of Pausanias, "is seated on a throne of ivory and gold; upon his head is placed a garland made in imitation of olive leaves. He bears a victory on his right hand, also crowned and made in gold and ivory, and holding in her right hand a little fillet. In his left hand the god holds a sceptre, made of all kinds of metals; the bird perched on the tip



Fig. 111.—Olympian Zeus (coin of Elis).



Fig. 112.—Olympian Zeus.



Fig. 113.—Olympian Zeus.

of the sceptre is an eagle. The shoes of Zeus are also of gold, and of gold his mantle, and underneath this mantle are figures and lilies inlaid." This cold description certainly indicates the richness of the masterpiece. Pausanias afterwards enthusiastically reviews the magnificent decoration of the throne and

* M. Paris takes throughout the view that the art of Pheidias culminated in the Olympian Zeus. That may possibly be the case, but I think it probable, for reasons that cannot be detailed here, that he went to Olympia and executed the statue of Zeus first, and then returned to Athens to execute the Parthenos.—J. E. H.

the pedestal, but of the actual beauty which constituted the gigantic statue a world's wonder he says not a word. An idea of the altitude and general outlines of the Zeus can be gathered from a few indistinct images upon some coins of Elis (figs. 110, 111, 112, 113). But the testimony of the ancients must be believed, who say that the sovereign majesty of this statue struck the beholder with unbounded reverence and



Fig. 114.—Archaic Zeus, Olympian bronze.

unspeakable admiration. "The son of Kronos lowered his dark eyebrows, the hair of the god shook on his immortal head, and vast Olympus trembled." The masterpiece of the greatest sculptor recalled to every-one these lines of the greatest poet; the conception of Pheidias was no doubt, as in the pediment, prompted by that of Homer. Dion Chrysostom declared that it was an august work of perfect beauty, which gave

inexpressible delight to the eyes. Epictetus considered it a misfortune to die in ignorance of this marvel, whose beauty, according to a phrase of Quintilian, "added a new element to religion." The loss is irreparable; the Olympian Zeus has perished, and even the history of



Fig. 115.—Asklepios Blaces (British Museum).

the loss is a secret. All that can be done to imagine its beauty is to compare an archaic type of Zeus which has survived in a bronze (fig. 114), and an Olympian terra-cotta, cold, dry, and only giving a delusive majesty by the motionless gravity of the face, and the

symmetrical arrangement of the beard and hair, with the coins of Elis and with a head of Asklepios, very like Zeus in type, and in which, more than in any other, something may possibly be felt of the lofty ideal rendered by Pheidias.

The statues of the " Promachos " and the Parthenos do not exhaust the list of Athena statues from the hand of Pheidias. Amongst many other admirable works, the Athena made for the people of Lemnos, and dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis, was, according to Pausanias, beauty itself, many preferring it to all the other works of the master. So this astonishing genius would seem to have surpassed himself at the age when the skill and ardour of the bravest and strongest spirits begin to fail, and to have reached a still higher degree of ideal perfection, to which it is difficult even for the imagination to rise.

VI.

THE PEDIMENTS AND METOPES OF OLYMPIA.

West pediment: G. Treu, *Jahrbuch*, iii., 1888, p. 175. Popular *résumé:* Bœtticher, *Olympia*, 2nd edition.

PHEIDIAS has brought us to Olympia; the pediment sculptures of the temple of Zeus, which contained the statue of the god by Pheidias, are still extant. The fortunate excavations of the French expedition to the Morea in 1831, followed up from 1875 to 1885 by Germany, brought to light a priceless treasure of bas-reliefs and statues. These had suffered much from the wear and tear of time; that they are preserved at all was owing, not, as has been often stated, to the alluvial deposit of the Alpheios, but to the sand and marl formation of the hills round about, which, being specially friable, suffered speedy degradation from the action of the river *Kladeos.*

Tradition, which is probably wrong, ascribed the sculptures of the east pediment to Paionios of Mende, and those of the west to Alkamenes. Paionios was contemporary with Pheidias, and even survived him; Alkamenes, rivalling him in genius and glory, appears at first to have been his disciple. Fortunately an authentic statue has been discovered, signed by Paionios, the famous Victory (Nike), erected on a

high triangular base, which the Messenians and the men of Naupaktos consecrated to Zeus of Olympia, probably as a tithe of the booty taken from the enemy during the affair of Sphakteria. This tall goddess, with the strong outlines, whose draperies cling as if moistened to the front of the body, which is thrown forward in impetuous flight, and swell behind at the will of the wind, might well be the work of an able disciple of Pheidias. It has not exactly the emotional style, which is foreign to the Attic temper, and has more the feeling of the Dorian school (fig. 116).

The masterpiece of Alkamenes, the Aphrodite, whose title was "In the Gardens," is only known to us by descriptions. The goddess was worked in marble, simply clothed in a diaphanous *chiton*. The ancients are lavish in their praises of the scientific modelling of the cheeks, the delicate oval of the face, the just proportions of the wrists, the delicacy of the hands, and especially of the fingers. Both the Nike and the traditions about the Aphrodite leave considerable doubt about the tradition as to the pediments. The eastern pediment, representing the preparations in the presence of Zeus for the struggle between Pelops and Oinomaos, owe nothing to Attic influence. Even although the Nike was the work of his old age, it is improbable that Paionios could have changed his manner so much. The western pediment, upon which the furious fight between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ is represented in bas-relief, has not any of the qualities which were demanded of Alkamenes by his masterpieces. Between them and the pediments of the Parthenon there is difference in style and distance in time. The

inspiration and execution of the Olympian sculpture



Fig. 116.—Nikos of Paionios (Olympia).

are frankly archaic, and take us to an era considerably before Pheidias. The building of the temple of

Zeus was complete about 442 B.C., had lasted since 472 B.C., and it is most likely that the sculptural decoration goes somewhat far back in the long period of thirty years.

The metopes of the temple of Olympia, twelve in number, representing the labours of Herakles, are not introduced between the triglyphs, like those of the Parthenon, by means of sliding grooves. They are an integral part of the building, and must have been sculptured on the spot. They probably date from the first years of the building. So far as they remain, they are naïve in character, and all bear the impress of a masculine Dorian austerity. At the Louvre and at Olympia there remain of these metopes Herakles subduing the Cretan bull; Herakles upholding the heavens, whilst a Hesperid looks at him from the background and Atlas offers him the apples; Herakles offering Athena the birds of the Lake Stymphalus; Herakles contemplating the grand and expressive figure of the fallen Nemean lion; and several other fragmentary compositions. The violent action with which Herakles turns the bull's head round (fig. 117) is as bold as it is accurate; the simply modelled muscles of the demi-god are quite correctly swollen with the effort. Herakles bearing the heavens is simple, strong, and firm as a Dorian column. Athena, seated in a homely fashion upon a rock in front of Herakles, near the Lake Stymphalus, is distinguished by the ægis, and is soberly dressed rather than draped in a long robe without folds. The heads, like the bodies, whose anatomy is hasty, are modelled in large surfaces, almost with no concern for the hair

and beard, which are very faintly indicated, and were probably finished with colour. This contrasts with the custom of the Attic artists, who loved to dress, crimp, and curl the hair. All the Olympian figures



Fig. 117.—Herakles and the Cretan bull (Louvre).

belong to a time when art was naïve, to a school which was either unskilful as yet, or persisting in clinging to an archaic tradition and deliberately expressed simplicity, which was almost crudity and stiffness.

The same characteristics are to be found in the statues of the pediments. The composition of the eastern pediment recalls Ægina rather than the Acropolis. The figures, with inflexible symmetry, bend, kneel, recline, and decrease in height according as the sides of the triangle approach. The figures are in juxtaposition rather than in groups, and the poses are repeated a little monotonously on either side of Zeus, who stands in the centre. The grouping of the western pediment, on the contrary, is far more complex. The Centaurs, the Lapithæ, and their women are grouped, even entangled, in twos and threes, in real hand-to-hand struggles, carried on with determined violence. Only in the midst Apollo (fig. 120) stands, calm, drawn up to his full height, the arm stretched out with an imperious gesture; while in the acute angles of the extremities, two divinities, probably nymphs of Elis, peacefully reclining, leaning on their elbows, contemplate the tumultuous battle scene.



Fig. 118.—Kladeos (Olympia).

The technical execution of the statues is, however, much the same in the two pediments. It is a simple anatomy, modelled without detail, in large surfaces, with little care in blending one with the other, or uniting them with skilful transitions. It is very far

removed from the infallible science and ever-wakeful care of Pheidias. Some are of opinion that the sculptors have taken into account the fact that accuracy in detail and finish in execution were not important in statues raised to the summit of a monument. But this is exceedingly unlikely; the work of Pheidias proves incontestably that ancient artists did not make these kind of calculations. They sculptured each figure for its own sake, striving after ideal perfection of forms, just as if it were to be well within reach of the sight, as in a museum, and to be submitted to minute criticisms. It was thus that the painters of the Renaissance frescoed the dark chapels and the lightest cupolas or naves of the churches with exactly the same care and love of finish. It may be that time was lacking for complete finish, and that this simplicity is only the sign of a hasty and, as it has been said, a somewhat feverish



Fig. 119.—Head of a maiden (Olympia).

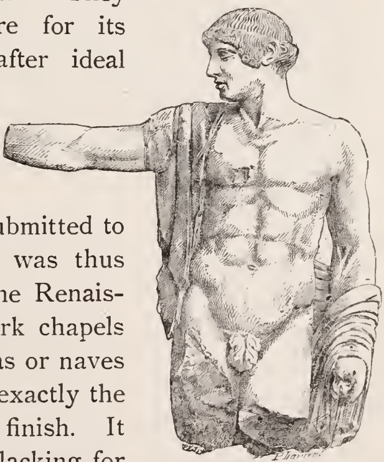


Fig. 120.—Apollo (Olympia).

execution. This is possible; and the state of certain figures, which are hardly hewn out behind at all, strengthens the theory. But it is more probable still that these distinctive features, not to call them faults, are only archaisms (figs. 118, 119).

The execution of the statue of Apollo (fig. 120), to quote one instance, is neither hasty nor purposely simplified, but carefully finished. Still many things in it recall the primitive statues of the same god, which have been studied—the attitude of the body, quite upright and firm on the legs set close together, with none of the sinuous lines of the hips or torso, to give pliancy and grace. The face bears the imprint of a grave majesty, which is well in keeping with the imperious gesture of the outstretched right hand, and gives evidence in the sculptor of a power of expression which has no longer anything primitive about it. The hair falls in regular locks from the back of the head towards the brow, where it hangs in symmetrical curls, and is gathered



Fig. 121.—Head of old man (Olympia).

up in a mass on the back of the neck and enclosed with a little band. In this it is the very reflex of the Apollo Ptoos, or, better still, the Strangford Apollo of the British Museum. Added to this, there is an exceedingly distinctive feature, the realism of some of the poses, and above all of certain faces. The old man, for instance, seated upon the ground behind the horses of Oinomaos (fig. 121) (eastern pediment), leaning with his left hand upon the ground, and resting his bent head upon the right. The attitude is more than homely—it is almost trivial, but taken direct from life, and rendered as truthfully as it was observed. As for the head, it is a portrait, and doubtless the portrait of an old, bald, wrinkled man, with his scanty locks hanging on the neck and his beard uncombed. It has been suggested with some probability that the figure represents the mountain-god Kronion. Be it god or mortal, it is strikingly realistic. In the same way the young Lapith (fig. 122) from the western pediment gives the impression of a strong animal; his brow is low, his eyes are narrow and sombre, his nose big, and his lips thick; his hair is coarse and thick, and his short, powerful neck is squarely set upon a massive body. He is like one of the



Fig. 122.—Head of a Lapith (Olympia).

extremely muscular stout porters, brutalized by the labours of a beast of burden, who encumber the quays and bazaars of the East. This is indeed a far cry from Pheidias, the idealist interpreter rather than the copyist of nature; and, to return to our starting-point, how very far is this from Paionios and his flying Victory, from Alkamenes and the Aphrodite of the gardens, that unknown masterpiece of grace and refinement.

VII.

THE SCHOOL OF PHEIDIAS.

For sepulchral stelæ in connection with Pheidias: C. Waldstein, *Essays on Art of Pheidias.* For grave reliefs in the Cerameicus see J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, sec. xxiv.

It is not at Olympia, but at Athens itself, that we must seek both for the influence of Pheidias and the masterpieces of his disciples, of those who really formed what may be called the new Attic school.

The Parthenon was complete in 438 B.C.; the Erechtheion was not finished before 409 B.C.. The porch of the Caryatids (fig. 123) has been usually held deserving of the admiration which it never fails to excite in those to whom it is given to tread the sacred rock of the Acropolis. These stately figures, steadfast and motionless as the columns they replace, possess not only the strength and size requisite to their function as supports, but also the pliancy and grace of youth and maidenhood. They are, in fact, successful individually, though as an architectural feature they strike us as whimsical and out of place. To realize the genius of their creators, they must be compared with the melancholy shapes, meagre and pitiful beneath superabundant ornaments and draperies, crushed under the burden of an architrave less massive than those superfluities, which fill our

museums under the usurped title of Caryatids. At the Erechtheion, and there only, has the sculptor grasped under what conditions the womanly bodies could be

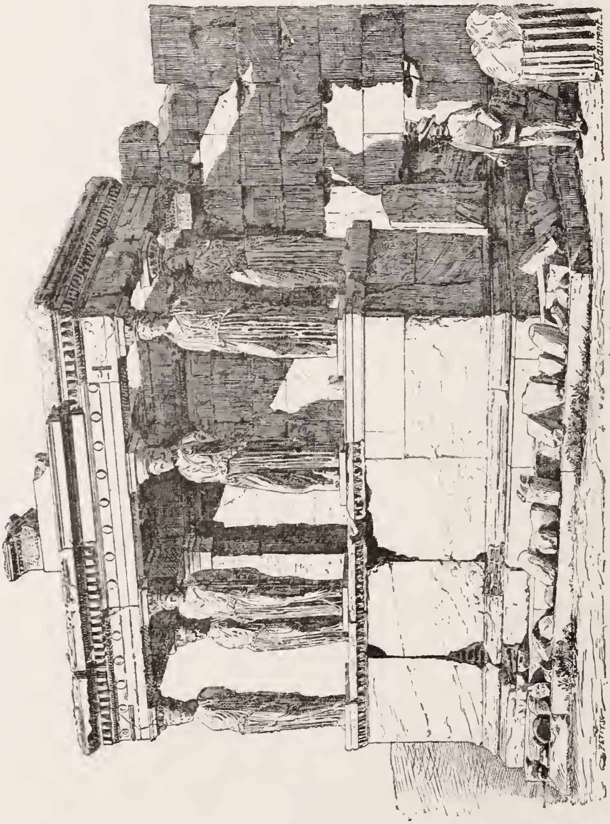


Fig. 123.—Caryatid porch.

made at all compatible with architectural functions without losing their beauty and peculiar charm. The swelling capital, adorned with ovolo ornament, set on

as a sort of pad (τύλη) for the burden sustained, shows well above the thick locks which overhang the brows, and are thickly knotted up behind. The double tunic, a pliable and yet firm material, sometimes clings to and outlines the rounded curves of the body, sometimes hangs freely in draperies or falls in straight folds, stiffly hollowed out, recalling the flutings of a column. The arms, hanging straight down, but without stiffness, give the appearance of width and strength to the bust. The simple bending of the leg is enough to destroy the absolute parallelism of the vertical lines, and adds an impression of lightness to what is and



Fig 124.—Caryatid (British Museum).

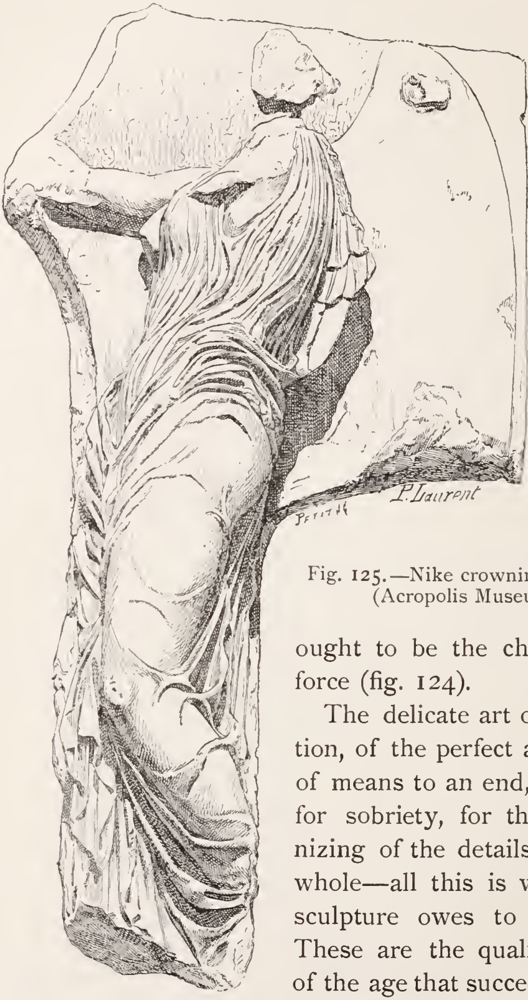


Fig. 125.—Nike crowning a trophy (Acropolis Museum).

ought to be the chief one—force (fig. 124).

The delicate art of proportion, of the perfect adaptation of means to an end, the taste for sobriety, for the harmonizing of the details with the whole—all this is what Attic sculpture owes to Pheidias. These are the qualities even of the age that succeeded him, and specially of the bas-reliefs of the little temple of Wingless Victory (Nike Apteros). The Victory who

stoops to tie her sandal (fig. 126), and the Victory stretching out her arms to crown a trophy (fig. 125), both headless and sadly damaged, are still a source of inexhaustible joy for those eyes that delight in plastic perfection. They are now set up to excellent advantage in the Acropolis Museum. Ancient sculpture has rarely created anything more delicate and charming. The bodies appear to live and breathe under the transparent draperies, and the proportions, forms, and attitudes of these bodies are combined with an exquisite feeling for grace and refinement. Pheidias has done greater, nobler, more refined things; he has conceived powerful combinations, designed scientific groups, and sculptured, sheer out of the marble, men as beautiful as gods. He has carved out of gold and ivory divinities, the sight of whom gave a still higher place in the human soul to thoughts of religion and divinity. The unknown author of the Victories, in a humbler sphere, with a slighter manner, has, like Pheidias, touched perfection with his chisel.

In comparison with the few fragments that have survived, very many, not less precious, have disappeared from the Athenian soil. No work exists of Alkamenes, Agorakritos, of Kresilas, of Kolotes, and many other fellow-workers or disciples of Pheidias. But their tradition long endured, living and forcible, and to them, in conjunction with Pheidias, was owing the incomparable blossoming of statues and bas-reliefs, which covered the soil of Attica and the whole of Greece, and which during several generations were produced without effort by the hands of simple artizans as well as of artists.

After their time, sculpture occupies an exceedingly



Fig. 126.—Nike stooping to tie her sandal (Acropolis Museum).

prominent position in Greek, and more especially in Athenian, life—in private life as well as in that of religion, society, and politics. Art is usually cultivated for its own sake; and, as in the past, the sculptors continued to make their work chiefly religious, and concerned themselves chiefly to represent the gods and to decorate their temples. But side by side with this official art, another arose, which scarcely deserves, so valuable is it, to be called industrial or commercial. This art will be found to produce works which are often beautiful, and almost always more than tolerable, works marked by purity of style and ease of execution, and by a constant inspiration from and imitation of preceding master-pieces.



Fig. 127.—Alliance between Athens and Corcyra.

Athens concluded a treaty with some rival city. The text of the treaty, graven on a marble stele, will be surmounted by a bas-relief displaying personifications of the two cities in the presence of Zeus Orkios, the god of vows; or of Demos, the personification of the people (fig. 127). If Athens gratefully accorded the rights of *Proxenia* to some illustrious foreigner, Athena appears above the decree, crowning her new *protégé* (fig. 128). Fig. 129 represents Athena and one of her treasurers. All the gods are displayed, all the

great bodies of the state are personified, one after another, and each new excavation adds fresh riches to the valuable collection of political bas-reliefs. Quite recently a very beautiful instance of the class of work



Fig. 128.—Heading of a decree of *Proxenia.*

was discovered in the Acropolis excavations. Athena, simply clad in chiton and helmet, is represented gazing intently, and even sadly, on a stele by her side. It is difficult to say how the sadness of the goddess is to be accounted for.

The collection is completed by the iconic or portrait statues awarded to the great, or to the useful servants of the country. On the other hand, if a devotee wished to gain the good graces of a god, or to thank him for some benefit, he went into the sanctuary and hung up a bas-relief, as a votive offering. Numbers of these



Fig. 129.—Athena Parthenos. Heading of a treasurer's account.

were prepared by the marble-masons of Athens, and on the bas-relief the donor, his wife and children, and even his domestic animals, were grouped in the presence of the guardian divinity (fig. 130).

Finally, upon graves costly bas-reliefs by the favourite craftsman of the day replaced the humbler

stelæ where the name of the dead or perhaps a single figure sufficed. The cycle of subjects represented is not large. Archaic bas-reliefs will be remembered where the dead man appears standing simply as he did in life, such as the stele of the Discophoros, of Aristion, or Alxenor of Naxos. A little later the theme becomes complicated; there is a group of several persons, as in the famous stele (possibly funeral) brought from Pharsalos to the Louvre by

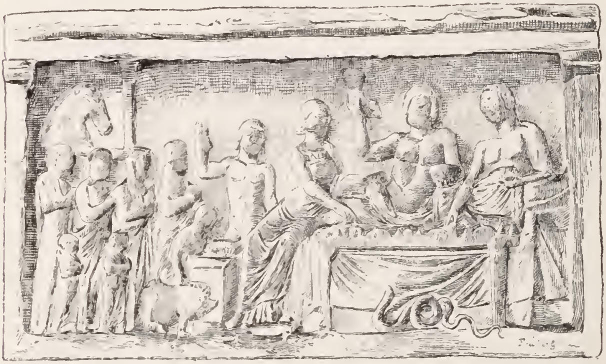


Fig. 130.—Offering to Æsculapios and Hygieia, (or to Heroized Ancestor).

M. Heuzey (fig. 131), where two young women are seen offering gifts to one another. The eyes, taken from full view in profile faces, the strongly marked features, and arrangement of the hair, some details of anatomy and costume, betray the hand of a novice and an epoch which is still naïve. But they do not destroy the impression of sweet melancholy, of calm dignity which is given by this simple and touching picture. A little later than the time of which we are

treating the favourite subject for funeral tablets seems to be the funeral feast, the dead man banqueting, and wife and family, about him or approaching, sculptured as inferior statues, to do him worship (fig. 132).

In the fifth and fourth centuries, and yet later, these monuments were multiplied, and unfortunately are repeated in a tedious manner. But here the important



Fig. 131.—Stele of Pharsalos (Louvre).

fact is, that the sculptors rarely lose their technical ability, the instrument of their pure taste, and sure, correct eye for plastic forms. It is even worth while to give some time to criticizing a whole class of these stelæ, for works of the first order are to be found among them. Amongst these are the bas-reliefs found in great numbers in the burial-place of the Ceramicus

in Athens and at the Piræus, which in size and beauty surpass the ordinary standard of funeral monuments.

Some have been popularized through engravings or photographs, such as the stele of Dexileos, one of the five warriors who died in a fight at Corinth (394 B.C.). Dexileos, with floating mantle, is mounted on a charger which rears and tramples underfoot a fallen foe. The animal, with body gathered together, rounded croup,



Fig. 132.—Funeral banquet (Central Museum, Athens).

slender limbs, and nervous head, would not disgrace the frieze of the Panatheneia. The warrior, an accomplished horseman, with firm and graceful mount, is an honour to the gilded youth of Athens, though the style of the relief is somewhat touched by sensationalism. The vanquished combatant knew how to fall gracefully, and with a brave gesture seems, as Aristophanes says, to wish to fight against defeat. He is a worthy descendant



Fig. 133.—Stele of Dexileos (Street of Tombs, Athens).

of those ancestors who fell on one shoulder, shook off

the dust, and then arose and denied that they had fallen (fig. 133).

The gravestone of Amenokleia, daughter of Andromenes; those of Polyxene, especially, and of Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos, have often been described (figs. 134, 135). In this last the dead woman is seen fully draped in chiton, himation, and veil, with a sweet and serious air, in familiar talk with the favourite slave who hands the toilet-casket.



Fig. 134.—Stele of Polyxene (Central Museum, Athens).

The large bas-relief, reproduced for the first time in these pages (fig. 136), is remarkable for the fulness of its style and conception. Discovered in the cemetery of the Ceramicus, it is now placed in the Central Museum of Athens. Prokleides, son of Pamphilos, an old man with a long beard and long hair, with naked torso, is seated in a homely

attitude upon a chair. His son Prokles stands in front of him, and holds out a hand to him. He is a soldier, clad in his coat of mail, and grasping the sheath of his sword. His body is robust and very muscular; his head is strong and very beautiful, with its restrained lines and simple hair and beard. He looks down quietly upon his father, whilst Archippe, daughter of Megakles, wife of the one and mother of the other hero, completes the picture of a family united in death, as they were doubtless in life. She has the rather heavy but dignified maturity of the matron; and drawing her veil aside with one hand, she gathers her mantle about her with the other. Unhappily it is difficult to express the deep and dignified restraint which animates this group, giving to the three faces a majestic calm—what the Greeks call holy awe (*τὸ σεμνόν*). Doubtless many faults in chiselling may be pointed out in this work, or in anatomy, as in the hand of Prokles, and weaknesses such as that in the muscles of Prokleides' breast, or in the arm of Archippe. But these



Fig. 135.—Stele of Hegeso (Street of Tombs, Athens).

failings are more than atoned for by the inspiration and profoundly ideal impression of the whole.

Analogies to the style of Pheidias may be found in many directions ; such are perceptible, in some degree, both immediately before and after his time. To quote at random from memory, this is to be seen very clearly in a much earlier stele of Eleusis. In this simple and religious composition, of pure and sober grace, Demeter and Kore are depicted in company with a youth, who may be Triptolomos or Bacchus (fig. 137). It is also to be seen in a very beautiful metope of a temple at Selinus (fig. 138) ; in which are represented Zeus and Hera. The king of the gods, with naked torso, as in the frieze of the Parthenon, is seated upon a rock, and with his right hand seizes the left wrist of Hera to draw her towards him. The goddess is standing, as in the



Fig. 136.—Stele of Prokles, Prokleides, and Archippe (Central Museum, Athens).

Parthenon frieze, and is wrapped in the large veil which is her distinguishing characteristic. The composition of the scene is simple and chaste, the modelling of the nude and the drapery of the veils are splendid in style. If the head of Zeus, and especially his coiffure and beard, as well as the folds of Hera's robe, keep some relics of archaism, it would seem, when compared with the freedom and pliancy of the rest, to be purely voluntary.



Fig. 137.—Demeter, Kore, and Triptolomos (stele of Eleusis).

The spirit of the age that produced Pheidias is only very indirectly felt in a large number of monumental sculptures, and, above all, in the frieze of a temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassæ, near Phigalia. To Iktinos, the immortal architect of the Parthenon, was entrusted the construction of this sanctuary, in the remote hill-country of Arcadia. Considerable remains of the temple are still *in situ*, but the frieze has been removed to the British Museum. It is probable, too, that the frieze must have been executed by famous artists, but scarcely any of the qualities of Pheidias and his Attic

disciples are to be found in this long series of bas-reliefs.

A double subject is represented. The somewhat hackneyed motives of the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, and the battle between warriors and Amazons,



Fig. 138.—Zeus and Hera (Palermo Museum).

are developed in a narrow band about seventy-six centimètres wide and thirty-one mètres long, which ran round the *interior* of the temple. If anything in it deserves praise (and the Parthenon marbles in the adjoining room of the British Museum make appreciation difficult), it is the fury of the struggling foes, the

desperation of the battle, and some bold attempts at flying draperies (fig. 139). But the figures are short and thickset, without the somewhat slender grace and justness of proportion to which the Attic school has now accustomed the eye. It must even be said that a bad taste which is surprising has got the upper hand in the drawing of certain attitudes, and in the composition of most of the groups. Fig. 140 is an



Fig. 139.—Fragment of the frieze of Phigalia (British Museum).

instance of a somewhat savage group. A Lapith has been seized from behind by a Centaur, who is biting his neck; the unfortunate man nevertheless can plunge his spear into the monster's breast. But he, doubtless in the anguish of his sufferings, kicks out and strikes the buckler of a second Lapith, who recoils in terror. And as a space remained on the surface of the frieze, below the kicking Centaur, the sculptor has stretched a second Centaur on the ground.

He is wounded, and has fallen face downwards on the earth, in so complicated a posture that the head and limbs are hardly distinguishable. There is dexterity perhaps in this, but it is the outcome of an ill-regulated

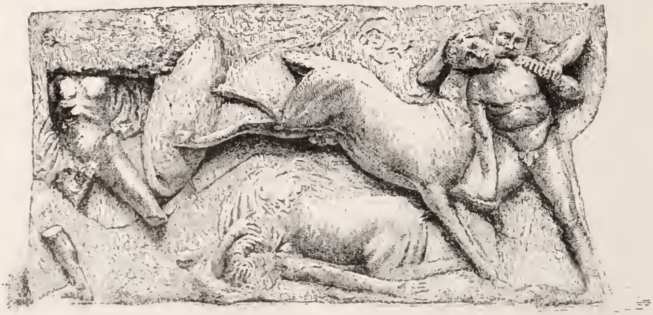


Fig. 140.—Slab of the frieze of Phigalia (British Museum).

or rather quite irregular imagination, which unhappily has inadequate skill of hand at its service to help out its awkward audacities. The frieze of Phigalia is, upon the whole, merely a tolerable display of a provincial art which is far from first-rate.

VIII.

POLYKLEITOS.

For Amazon statues see Michælis, *Jahrbuch*, i., 1886, p. 14, taf. 1-4. For the Diadumenos: Sidney Colvin, *J.H.S.*, ii., 353; A. S. Murray, *J.H.S.*, vi., p. 243.

POLYKLEITOS, the most famous contemporary of Pheidias, born at Sicyon, but really Argive, was considered by the ancients to be the equal of the Attic master, some even proclaiming him superior. Their works, however, cannot be compared, and it is rash to try and classify such different geniuses. Polykleitos passed almost the whole of his life at Argos. This little town was an artistic centre before his day. Ageladas, with whom Pheidias went to study in his youth, has been mentioned in connection with the place. He also was the master of Polykleitos. Polykleitos had many reasons for remaining in his own province, which kept its peculiar traditions of glory, even side by side with Athens, and this residence determined the path which he was to follow. At the moment when Athens, overflowing with riches, began to erect splendid monuments, Pheidias, the friend of Pericles, was led by these very circumstances to display his genius in vast decorative combinations. The result of this was the conception of the metopes frieze and pediments of the Parthenon.

Polykleitos, on the other hand, had in some sort to clip his wings and limit his flight to works of a less vast and superb order, but his glory lost nothing by it. It consists precisely in his attaining perfection in a line which, without having the sublimity of Pheidias, does not lack nobility or grandeur.

Polykleitos sculptured several statues of divinities—a Zeus at Argos, an Aphrodite at Amyclæ, a Hermes which was in Pliny's days at Lysimacheia (in the Tauric Chersonese), and perhaps a group of the Delian trinity, Leto, Artemis, and Apollo, on Mount Lykone. The chryselephantine Hera, which he sculptured for a temple at Argos, was famous beyond the rest. "The goddess," says Pausanias, "of great stature, is seated upon a throne; she is of gold and ivory. Upon the diadem which she wears are depicted the Graces and the Hours. In one hand she holds a pomegranate, the meaning of which it is not right to divulge; in the other, a sceptre. They say that a cuckoo is perched upon the sceptre, because the legend runs that Zeus, when in love with the maiden Hera, changed into a cuckoo in order to pursue her." Strabo (viii., p. 372) affirms that this statue was beyond all the others in technical ability, but places it below those of Pheidias in perfection and grandeur. The best notion of the style of this statue is to be obtained not from uncertain copies in Græco-Roman busts of Hera, but from the head of Hera on the coins of Argos.

Happily, there are tolerably certain copies of the three statues which give the exact note of the genius of Polykleitos—the Doryphoros, the Diadumenos, and the wounded Amazon. Quintilian said, that under the

chisel of the Argive master the human body became beautiful "beyond reality," whilst the gods were lacking in majesty. It appears obvious that the gods of Polykleitos lost by comparison with those of Pheidias. But as for his men, the Doryphoros, for instance, has justly deserved to be a model of ideal perfection to a long line of artists. This is the statue in the Naples Museum supposed to be a copy of the *Canon* or model, and some have gone so far as to suppose that Polykleitos sculptured it with the definite notion of really making it a model for the studio. He was as able in theory as in practice, and, in a special treatise on the subject, he laid down the laws of proportion and perfect beauty in the human body. These he is supposed to have applied in this statue with quite geometrical strictness. Unluckily the ancients have left us no very precise record of the *Canon* of Polykleitos. Here is Lucian's abridgment of these rules: "The body must not be too tall, nor immoderately lengthened out, nor, on the other hand, too short, like a dwarf, but exactly proportioned. It must not be too plump, in case of being unnatural, nor excessively thin, for then it would be like a skeleton." Galen is rather less vague: "Beauty, according to Chrysippos, consists in the harmony, not of lines merely, but of the limbs, in the exact proportion of the fingers to one another, and of all the fingers together to the wrist and the metacarpus; the proportion of the latter to the forearm, and of the forearm to the arm, as it is written in the *Canon* of Polykleitos." Hence it would seem that the finger was the measure by which the Argive master established the scale of proportion. To make this question clear, one would

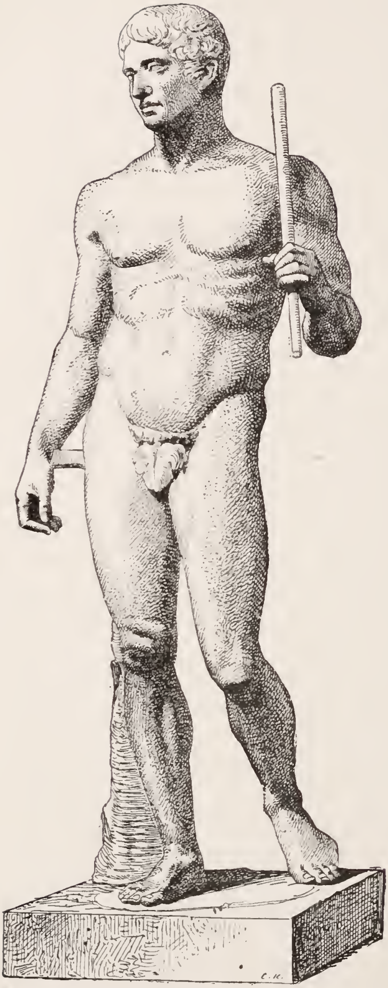


Fig. 141.—Copy of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos (Naples Museum).

have to be able to measure, upon the Doryphoros itself, the different parts of the body and the limbs, and try to establish a relation between the measurements. But only very untrustworthy copies of the *Canon* have descended to us; indeed, it is uncertain whether the Doryphoros is in the *Canon* at all. The small, though exceedingly graceful, Doryphoros of a bas-relief preserved in the votive or funeral museum at Argos cannot be regarded as an actual copy, but it undoubtedly justifies the restoration of the spear. This young, naked man, walking by the side of his horse, the right hand hanging down, the left bearing a spear,

is certainly in the attitude ascribed by the ancients to the statue of Polykleitos. It is visibly inspired by him, but cannot give us any information concerning the actual scale of proportion.

A bronze head at Naples, signed by Apollonios, son of Archias, the Athenian, is fine enough to be an actual reproduction of the head of the Doryphoros; but this and the remarkable torso of the Berlin Museum (Doryphoros Pourtàles) are only fragments. As for the statue of the Naples Museum (fig. 141), in spite of its technical inferiority, it is a very valuable copy, because the most complete we possess. It is evidently the work of an artist who was not talented enough to reproduce faultlessly the specially original type of the model.

The Doryphoros of Polykleitos was *viriliter puer*, or a youth with the strength of a man. This description is not unsuitable to the rather heavy, stout body, and strong, square head of the athlete reproduced by our figure. He is a grown man, and no longer young; and even judging him as a man (for one may mistrust the impressions or dicta of Pliny), it must be admitted by the unprejudiced, that if the parts of the body are in exact proportion, these very proportions are not the best chosen to produce an impression of perfect beauty. Indeed, to judge from this example, it is difficult to join in the passionate admiration of the ancients.

As in the case of the Doryphoros, few copies have survived of the Diadumenos, an athlete who was raising his two arms to bind his brows with a long fillet. The Farnese Diadumenos, the Diadumenos of Vaison (now in the British Museum, fig. 142), are

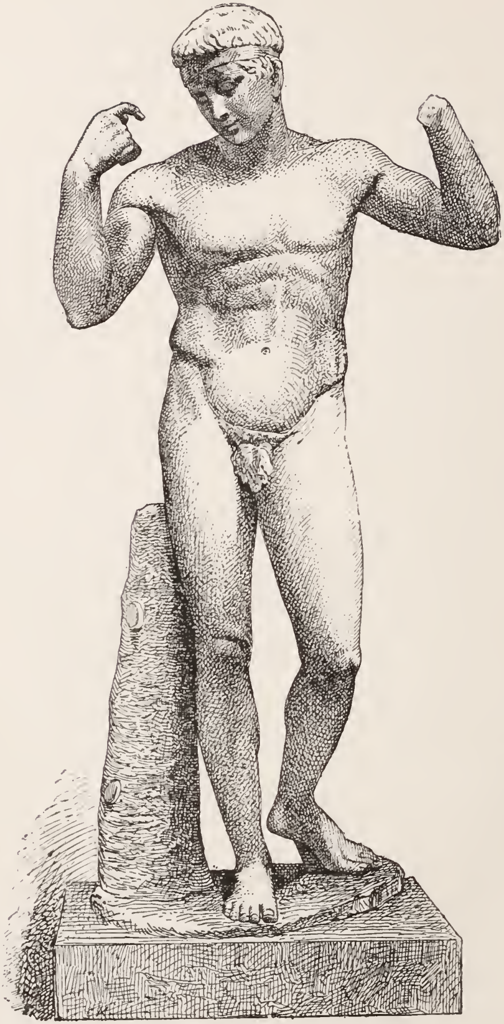


Fig. 142.—Copy of the Diadumenos of Polykleitos (British Museum).

the best, but not so good as they might be; in some respects they may be supplemented by a terra-cotta Doryphoros, also in the British Museum. We do not discover in them the *molliter Juvenem*, the young man with the somewhat effeminate outlines of a stripling, whom Pliny contrasts with the Doryphoros, the young man, still remaining a stripling. But it must be stated, rather to the detriment of Polykleitos, that the Diadumenos, like the Doryphoros, is a little wanting in grace. In both copies there is a tendency, which was pointed out by the ancients, towards *squareness* of form, as they put it—"thickset" is the modern adjective—from which a certain heaviness is inseparable. This must necessarily have been the character of the masterpieces of Polykleitos, for it is to be found in copies which evidently came from different hands. Yet to explain to us the enormous renown of this artist, it must always be noted that the works of Pheidias were, and are still, inimitable by their very excess of perfection, the height of their inspiration, and the splendid brilliancy of their forms. But a Doryphoros, a Diadumenos, could very well serve as models to several generations of artists. They are athletes, and in consequence human beauty was enough for their bodies and faces—idealized certainly, but yet material, and much easier to express in marble than the sedate and somewhat abstracted beauty of the gods of Pheidias made in the image of eternal youth and celestial majesty.

Further, these athletes stand in the simplest and most natural attitudes, leaning with the weight on one leg, the typical Polykleitos attitude, posed, like models

on the platform of the studio, whose movements and posture have been directed by the artist, and the muscles made to start out which are wanted in relief. These models, moreover, are not emotionally expressive or agitated; their faces express none of the feelings which are reflected from the emotions of the soul. It is a bodily rather than a spiritual perfection.

The glory of Polykleitos is by no means small, to have established, once for all, according to the verdict of posterity, the type of *human* beauty, as Pheidias did that of divine majesty, and to have encouraged, by his happy example, the sculptors whom the genius of Pheidias had possibly discouraged and left untouched. If, as there are many reasons for supposing, he sculptured an original, which is echoed more or less faintly in the Amazon of the Berlin Museum (fig. 143), and countless others, it would seem as if the copies of the Doryphoros and the Diadumenos have caused us to judge him too severely. The story runs,—and, as Mr. Murray very truly says, "must be read running,"—that the most famous sculptors in Greece were called upon to compete, and each made an Amazon for the temple of Diana, at Ephesus. When they were asked which was the finest, each gave to his own statue the first place; to that of Polykleitos, the second; to Pheidias, the third; to Kresilas, the fourth; to Kydon, the fifth; and to Pradmon, the sixth; this conclusively proved that Polykleitos was the real victor. The art of Polykleitos might well triumph in sculpturing an Amazon, manly force in a woman's body, firm flesh and hard muscles under the supple curves. The woman-warrior, wounded in the right breast, is leaning upon a

pillar. She raises her right arm above her head with no impatient gesture of anguish. The pose is not theatrical; only the face declares the presence of pain, bravely borne. Polykleitos may have made laws for representing the body of a woman, as well as that of an athlete, according to a *Canon* mathematically fixed. The ancients say nothing of it, but it is certain that he has not here put aside his science. The proportions of the Amazon are in rare harmony; here force does not destroy grace, as in the Doryphoros of Naples, nor do the full, square forms take away from her slimness. The face of the Doryphoros might be any one, and is even spoiled by the full, heavy jaws; it is also expressionless. That of the Amazon, on the contrary, in spite of the excessive flatness of the oval, and the purposely large features, is that of an actual, beautiful person, which the expression of restrained suffering makes more distinct and interesting. Finally,



Fig. 143.—Amazon (Berlin Museum).

there is a novel and very felicitous arrangement of the short chiton. It is held in its place on the shoulder by a strip crossing it, and at the waist by a narrow thong. It then falls in little folds from the hips to the middle of the thighs, with great grace and pliancy, due to the absence of archaic symmetry and parallelism. It leaves the two breasts and the back uncovered, and gives to the splendid nakedness of the Amazon the proud chastity which becomes her.

IX.

SCOPAS AND PRAXITELES.

The Cnidian Aphrodite: Michælis, *J. H. S.*, viii., 324. School of Scopas, Farnell, L. R., *J. H. S.*, vii., 114. Hermes of Praxiteles: Von Rohden's article in *Jahrbuch des Archæol. Inst.*, ii., 67. For the recently-identified Praxitelean head of Eubonleus, see 13*th Hallisches Winckelmann's Programm, Marmorkopf Riccardi*, 1888; and *Ephemeris Arch.*, 1886, pl. x.; and Benndorf, *Anz. Ph. Hist.*, 16th November, 1887.

M. Guillaume, a great sculptor, as well as a discerning and erudite critic,—like Polykleitos, an artist as well as a theorist concerning art,—has said that the *Canon* was the *résumé* of a school, and not the starting-point of a new one.

This chapter will merely serve to confirm this opinion. But the term "school" requires explanation. A double current—Ionian and Dorian—can no longer be distinguished in Greek art. Mixture of races, interchange and blending of thought and feeling, have made of the civilized Hellenes one people, divided into little states, whose mutual independence is more apparent than actual. Outside of them there is a Greek art, a Greek sculpture, which artists, no matter what is their original birthplace, carry from one shore of the Ægean Sea to another, and perhaps even towards the West, even into Magna Græcia, and

farther still, to remote Italian towns. The galaxy of sculptors, whose most brilliant stars were first Scopas and Praxiteles, and then Lysippos, scarcely deserve the name, given to them by some historians, of the Neo-Attic school, if the name is supposed to indicate their origin. Scopas certainly came from Paros; Praxiteles was probably an Athenian; as to Lysippos, he was born in Sicyon. But all these artists, like their contemporaries and disciples, have a common tendency, which is, upon the whole, towards Attic tradition. They move farther away day by day from the precision and rather realistic Dorian heaviness of Polykleitos, and advance nearer and nearer the ideal of Ionian grace to which Pheidias had attained. Finally, an effort which overshot the mark led them into the abuse of elegance, into mannerism.

Scopas, who flourished we know for certain from 395 to 351 B.C., had a long and productive career. His work, which was very various, included great decorative designs, like the pediments of the temple of Athena at Tegea. One of these represents the hunt of the boar of Kalydon, and contains more than twenty figures; the other, the combat of Achilles and Telephos, in the plain of Kaïkos. Of the pediment representing the boar hunt important fragments remain, and are now in the Central Museum at Athens. They are our most certain index of the style of Scopas. If we accept the statement of Pliny, Scopas sculptured one of the bases of the columns for the temple of Ephesus, the *Columnæ Cœlatæ*. The best preserved, which Mr. Wood has taken to the British Museum (fig. 144), is, however,

quite unworthy of the master, and, happily, cannot be proved to be his. The figures are cleverly grouped, the modelling of the naked men is delicate, and the

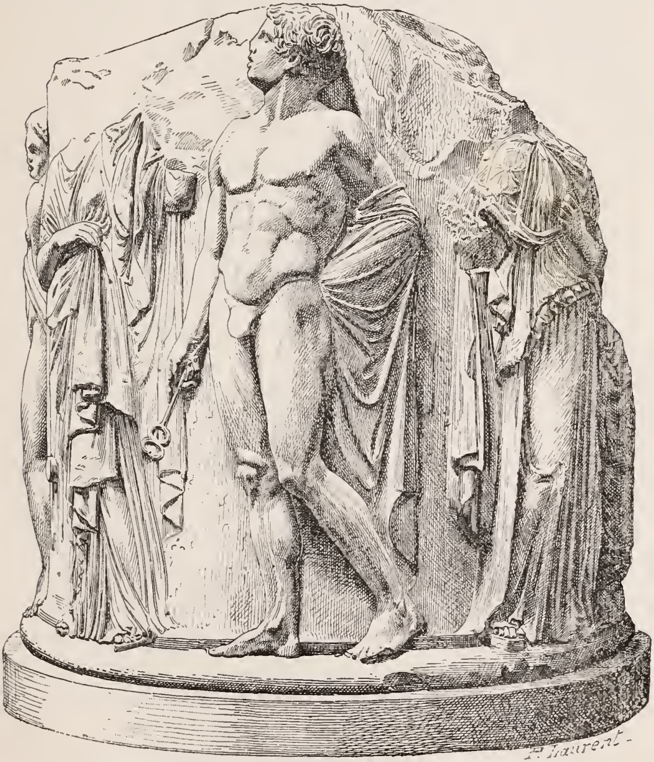


Fig. 144.—Sculptured column of Ephesus (British Museum).

feminine draperies are full of richness and grace; but the whole leaves an impression of weakness. Some of the bas-reliefs of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos are also ascribed to him, and a number of statues of heroes,

divinities, and mortals. Among these are Asklepios and Hygieia, at Tegea, two furies (Erinnyes), at Athens; Eros, Himeros, and Pothos, at Megara; and probably the children of Niobe, dying around their mother, of which the famous statues of the Uffizii Museum, in Florence, are only inferior copies. Further, there were the Aphrodite Pandemos, at Elis; the Hekate, at Argos; a Herakles, at Sicyon; an Apollo, at Rhamnos, in Attica; a statue of a Bacchante in particular, renowned for the boldness of its action; the Apollo Smintheus, at Chryse, in the Troad. The ancients do not say that he sculptured athletes; his art was chiefly religious. Abundant ancient tradition has handed down to us the praises of Scopas, but his peculiar characteristics are not very clearly distinguished. Happily, to some extent, we can appreciate the originality of his genius with our own eyes in the fragments of Tegea, and possibly in some of the mausoleum sculptures. It is known that to the Carian king, Mausolos, there was upreared, by the wifely piety of Artemisia, a splendid tomb, worthy to be reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. Scopas, with the help of three of his contemporaries, Bryaxis, Timotheos, and Leochares, adorned it with friezes and statues. The mausoleum measured four hundred and eighty feet in circumference, and was surrounded by thirty-six columns. Surmounted by a pyramid with steps, which a quadriga of marble crowned (the work of Pythios), it rose to a height of one hundred and forty feet. Scopas, according to Pliny, decorated the eastern side.

Until the twelfth century the monument remained

unharmed by time or barbarians; an earthquake destroyed it then, and the materials, especially the bas-reliefs, were used by the Knights of St. John in the construction of the stronghold of Budrun, the modern Halicarnassos. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in 1846, and Mr. Newton, in 1857, caused numerous fragments of the frieze and relics of the gigantic statues to be conveyed to the British Museum. But it is difficult to distinguish the hand of Scopas from those of his fellow-workers. It would be perhaps too bold to ascribe to the most famous of the four sculptors the fragments which seem to belong to a particularly perfect and original art, like those of the battle of the Amazons, of which an example is given. These two scenes are boldly composed and executed with spirit. They take us far from the Centaurs and Lapithæ, or the Amazons of the temple of Phigalia, for instance, with their broad, short, thick-set bodies, quite without pliancy or grace, and clumsily complicated scenes. Here the incidents are simple and striking, as becomes a furious struggle when the sole concern of the combatants is to kill without being killed. Some are dealing blows with all their might, others hastily recoil to avoid them. Each one is using all his strength and activity, and consequently the attitudes are violent. The draperies, agitated by the blows or the impulses of the bodies, flutter and swell behind, or cling in front to the legs, arms, and trunks. The bodies of the warriors, like those of the Amazons, tend to delicate and slender forms, with a grace which is little in keeping with this savage and desperate battle of barbarians (fig. 145). The reliefs of this Amazon fight are beautiful, but they

fall far behind the figure of a charioteer from another frieze, presumably a chariot race. One well-preserved figure from this frieze has striking analogies with the Tegea sculptures.

Of the statues of Niobe and her children in the Museum of Florence, we can only say they are possible copies of a group possibly of Scopas. The principal figure, Niobe in rapid flight, scarcely sus-



Fig. 145.—Bas-relief of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos (British Museum).

tains her youngest daughter, who kneeling, half naked, clings to her dishevelled garments (fig. 146). The master and his pupil, the children of Niobe, wounded or dying, the dead one stretched upon the ground, are all tall and well made, like the heroes and heroines of the frieze of the mausoleum. Like them, they are violently agitated, but even with this excessive action they retain a refined grace. The figure known as the Chiaramonti Niobid is probably a much earlier and



Fig. 146.—Niobe and her young daughter (Uffizii Gallery, Florence).

closer copy of one figure from the same original group.

The Munich statue (fig. 147), known as the Ilioneus, which all agree is a son of Niobe, gives perhaps the highest idea of this refined art. This youthful body is exquisitely supple and graceful, and has rarely been surpassed in these qualities. The pathos of the terrified gesture makes one regret keenly the loss of the head. The spirit, at any rate, if not the hand of the master, is to be felt in this perfect piece of work.

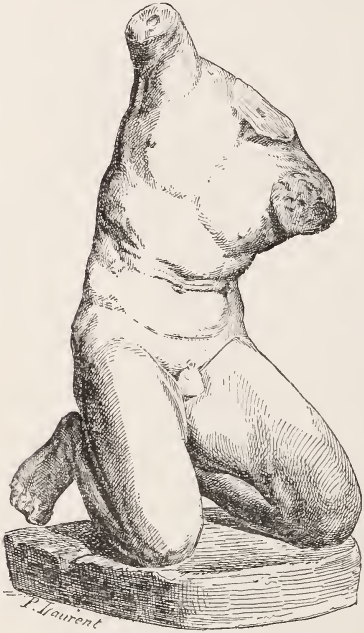


Fig. 147.—Ilioneus (Glyptothek, Munich).

The archaic smile is merely a *naïveté;* it is frozen, and neither expresses nor reflects a state of the soul. The gods of Pheidias, being gods, were therefore unmoved, and had merely majesty, a vague calm, immortally motionless upon their sublime features. The athletes of Polykleitos are models, that is to say, young and healthy bodies, with no private sorrows or joys, except that of being strongly muscular and in perfect proportion. Their

flesh is everything, and they have no visible soul, and the face remains that rather of a type than an individual.

But in the fourth century, with Scopas, the heart begins to beat beneath its marble covering. Niobe suffers; her children and servants are the prey of terror, wounds, and anguish. Deadly fear, physical pain, is painted, so to speak, upon their faces, and is clearly expressed in the eyes, in the wrinkled brow, and contracted mouth. However, let us not say too much; there is as yet no abuse of power. It is a new conception, a more cultured understanding of the rights and province of sculpture, and does peculiar honour to Scopas. It did nothing less than enlarge the cycle of subjects in which Greek statuary till then somewhat monotonously moved—gods of Olympus, fabulous heroes, Olympian conquerors. Actual man, impassioned, or, in other words, alive, body and soul, may now appear upon the scene. But, unluckily, with man there also appeared the idea, the feeling, clothed with a body—personification. It is pleasant to think of the three passions which Scopas grouped in human form—Love, Eros; and his two companions, Himeros and Pothos, Longing and Regret, as glowing with every grace, with the impetuous, young life of the half-ideal and half-natural fictions of Greek poetry. Scopas, indeed, may well have sculptured three delicate embodiments of minor gods as real for him as Zeus or Aphrodite, but the door was opened by which one day the frozen figures of allegorical divinities were to glide in among the Olympian train.

This evil, however, is as yet far in the future.



Fig. 148.—Eirene and Ploutos (Glyptothek, Munich).

Praxiteles was the famous contemporary of Scopas. He was Athenian, of the deme of Eresidæ. The date of his birth is uncertain, but he was still very young, probably, when Scopas came to live at Athens, about 375 B.C. He was probably the son of Kephisodotos, the author of a famous bronze group in the Athenian agora of which there is a fine marble copy at Munich, the Eirene (Peace) carrying the infant Ploutos (God of Riches). This group is reproduced in fig. 148; it stands half-way between the austerity of Pheidias and the pliant grace of Praxiteles. Little is known of the life of Praxiteles.

By wonderful good fortune, an absolutely authentic statue, coming from this immortal hand, has been found almost intact, and several others are known to us by very fair copies. These memorials are sufficient for our study.

People of taste, lovers of pure masterpieces, made the voyage to Knidos in order to admire the statue of Aphrodite, which shone in the light of eternal youth and beauty in the midst of the temple which was always open. "Kythereia, Queen of Paphos," says an epigram, "came to Knidos, across the waves, wishing to see her own image; and, after long contemplation, she said: 'And where did Praxiteles see me quite naked?'" It is not Aphrodite herself whom the charming sculptor saw naked, but Phryne, the splendid courtesan, his mistress. She it was who, at an Eleusinian festival, throwing off her raiment and untwisting her hair, plunged into the sea in the presence of all the Greeks, before the eyes of Apelles, who was enchanted to find the ideal model for his Aphrodite

Anadyomene (Aphrodite rising out of the sea), of which he had long vainly dreamed.

Knidos, situated on its promontories of golden rocks, which the splendid heavens and sparkling sea bathe in sunlight and clear blue, shines with all the radiant beauty of an Oriental island. In its famous temple the statues of the great masters were treasured; the Dionysos of Bryaxis, side by side with the Athena of Scopas. But the Aphrodite of Praxiteles might have stood there alone, for it effaced all the other masterpieces. "The goddess stands in the midst of the sanctuary, hewn out of a dazzling block of Parian marble; her smile is somewhat proud and disdainful; and her beauty is entirely naked and without veil. The shrine has doors all round, so that the back view of the goddess may also be seen and no detail may escape admiration. . . . What graceful shoulders; what broad hips; what sweeping curves in the thighs; without too much suggestion of bones, and yet without excess of flesh! The two dimples on the hips are inexpressibly sweet. And how accurate is the straight line prolonged from the calf of the leg into the foot." Lucian is still more enthusiastic about the pure design of the hair, brow, and eyebrows, for the eyes that seemed to be shining with tears, and were yet full of brilliancy and kindness. These many charms explain a famous legend, of the strange, mad love of the young Greek, a new Pygmalion, whose embraces, however, could not lend life to the marble goddess. The descriptions, like the legends and epigrams, make us feel that the Aphrodite of Knidos must have been so perfect that it is impossible for us to recognise her in the innumerable

statues of our museums. For they are not distinct likenesses, but only vaguely recall her, by their attitudes, and sometimes, too, by their attempt at a somewhat too elaborate and affected elegance and grace. The Aphrodite of the Vatican, disfigured by modern drapery, and the Aphrodite of Munich, are the most faithful copies amongst all those which have survived. Some idea of the pose may be gathered from a coin of Knidos (fig. 149), but it is of course only such a transcript as is possible to a reduced copy.



Fig. 149.—Aphrodite of Praxiteles (coin of Knidos).

A bronze can hardly give the effect of marble; but a head of Aphrodite in bronze, found at Armenia (fig. 150, British Museum), is very interesting, as, with Englemann, we may consider it to have been inspired by the masterpiece of Praxiteles. In no copy do the beauties pointed out by Lucian appear so plainly. "The pure brows, the majestic arches of the eyebrows, are one of the principal charms of this bronze, and it is easy to imagine a calm, frank look in the cavity of these great, open eyes, which gaze with something of menace, but more of fascination, as Lucian says of the Knidos statue. The half-concealed smile, which he praises, indeed flutters upon those lips, voluptuous in their delicate lines. The somewhat unconfined tresses, the curls which stray coquettishly about the neck, the

full, sensual lips, the sweet, soft look of the skin, are all peculiarly suitable to the Aphrodite of the type which Praxiteles wished to fix" (O. Rayet). With the head was found a left hand, holding a fragment of drapery.



Fig. 150.—Head of Aphrodite (British Museum).

Praxiteles, with a rare discrimination of his own practical powers, usually chose to represent the youngest and most attractive members of the Hellenic Pantheon. To the Aphrodite of Knidos, to those of Kos, Thespiæ, of Alexandria in Caria, and many others, he added a

whole train of Loves, as refined and graceful as they. These Loves are by no means the chubby little boys, so often represented by the commonplaces of decorative Roman arts; they are youths on the verge of manhood, and conscious of the power of youth. Gods who charm us and yet inspire fear, they can take sure aim with their new arrows, of which the poet wrote this epigram: "My love-philtres are no longer arrows, but amorous glances."

Next there are the wanton divinities of the woods and waters; the naked nymphs on the banks of the fresh springs, and the silens and satyrs, who spy through the green leaves at nymphs and maidens who lie at ease after the bath. But Praxiteles has nothing to say to those fearful and sensual monsters, half goat and half clown, displayed by the satyric drama in all their ugliness upon the stage. The only relics of their monstrous nature in the Satyr of the Street of the Tripods at Athens were the pointed ears and the fawn's skin. The ears are hidden by the hair, and the fawn-skin, carelessly worn scarf-wise, is transformed from a coarse garment into a graceful ornament. The best idea of this great work of Praxiteles—which with the Eros of Thespiæ he cherished beyond all his other statues—is to be got from a very much mutilated torso of the Louvre, the same in outline but far superior in execution to the faun and satyr of the Capitol. The Kephisos of Pheidias alone seems to possess such pure, healthful, radiant youth, such perfect grace, as this. But the Kephisos is a strong, wiry youth, touched with Olympian majesty; whilst the Satyr, expanding with mere joy of life, leaning up against the trunk of a tree, displays with indolent



Fig. 151.— Satyr, after Praxiteles (Capitoline Museum, Rome).

grace the full, round forms of his soft young body. The softened angle of the hip, giving a sweeping curve to the outline of the body, adds to his exquisite slightness an indescribable air of nonchalance. The eye loves to follow the gentle curves of the marble, which seems to be alive and warm. The copy reproduced in fig. 151 has only one advantage over the torso of the Louvre — that it shows us the complete statue, and helps us to grasp the pose. The Apollo with the lizard, too, differs greatly from the archaic Apollos, stiff and strained in the effort to appear majestic and awful.

This is indeed far removed from the old masters—from Kanachos, from the sculptor who conceived the imperious Apollo of the Olympian pediment. The Apollo Sauroctonos, the lizard-slayer (fig. 152, which reproduces a small bronze of the Villa Albani), is a young god come down from Olympus, a lovable youth, fond of play and laughter, with no care for the destinies of the world. He is absorbed in threatening with his dart a poor little lizard which is climbing up the trunk of a tree. The conception of the god of light has wavered, in the same way, doubtless, as the faith in his divine power; but such is the force of a masterpiece, that down to our own day Apollo has remained in men's minds as a slim, graceful god, with a touch of feminine delicacy and bearing, with the face and headgear of a maid—in fact, as he was seen by Praxiteles.



Fig. 152.—The Apollo Sauroctonos of Praxiteles (Villa Albani).

Finally, the genius of Praxiteles can be admired in a

statue of uncontested authenticity. On May 8th, 1877, in the ruins of the temple of Hera at Olympia, at the very spot where it so long stood, the group of the Hermes, carrying the infant Dionysos, was discovered. This is the group, famous to-day, which Pausanias saw in old times, and pointed out as "the art of Praxiteles" (τέχγη Πραξιτέλους), an invaluable treasure, whose possession the richest museums will always envy to the new Museum of Olympia (figs. 153, 154). The fine Parian marble was broken in its fall; the right arm of Hermes has disappeared. The two legs from the knees downwards cannot be found; only one foot remains. The child has lost his left arm, and his head, which had rolled far away from the body, has suffered some injury. But all that remains is in a perfect preservation rarely equalled, without the least scratch or splinter, shining and polished as it emerged from the studio.

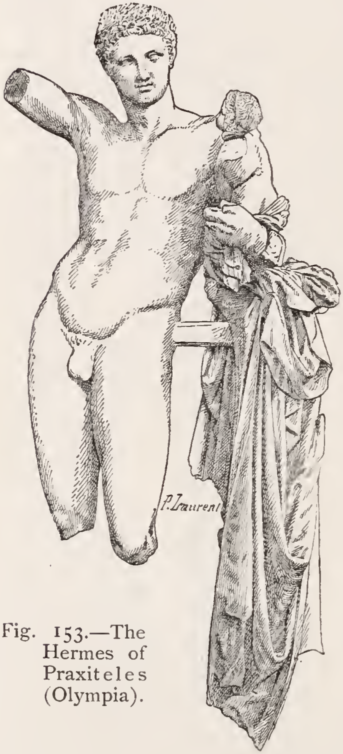


Fig. 153.—The Hermes of Praxiteles (Olympia).

Hermes has nothing of the primitive god about him,

any more than the Satyr or the Apollo Sauroctonos—neither the pointed cap, the wand, nor the winged heels. He is a man, but ideally young and beautiful. He is the messenger of the gods, and he is charged to take the young Dionysos back to the nymphs; but he seems in no haste to fulfil his mission. Standing by a tree, upon which he leans lightly with his elbow, he has gently placed the divine babe upon his left arm, over which is folded drapery, and is amusing himself with inciting the child by the promise or sight of some object, a bunch of grapes probably, which he holds up in his right hand. Dionysos leans one hand upon the shoulder of Hermes, with the other he reaches after the object of his desire, all his little body stretched eagerly in the effort and the excitement of his greed.



Fig. 154.—Head of the Hermes of Praxiteles.

No new words can be found to praise the supreme beauty of the Hermes of Praxiteles; they were exhausted long ago, and it is a commonplace to

admire the simple and natural grouping of the figures, the grace of the attitudes, and pliancy of the movements. As in the Satyr and the Apollo, but with yet more grace, the curves of the hip break up the naturally hard parallelism of the lines of the legs and torso. This prominence of the muscles changes the natural balance of the body in repose, and gives an indefinable impression of life and motion. But what must be specially pointed out, as constituting the real originality of the genius of Praxiteles, is the individual character of the beauty, the personal conception of an ideal type. There is nothing realistic about the Hermes ;—this remark does not apply to the child, as, owing possibly to the injuries received, it appears to possess less merit. But the head of the Hermes—the youngest, most living, and beautiful, in short, of any statue—is beyond though not outside all tradition. Seen from front view or profile, everything in it recalls and yet transcends the conventional type—the so-called Greek profile, delicate, distinguished, pure in outline, and certainly very admirable, but too often repeated, like a cold and impersonal stereotype. The forehead, whose prominences remind one of the heads of Myron's athletes, is low and rounded. The rounded, thick nose is broad at the bridge, a little arched in the middle, and growing thin at the nostrils, which are small but wide open. The eyes, set very far apart, are large and almond-shaped, and are in low relief from the deep socket. The little thin-lipped mouth is half open, and a smile lurks in the corners. The small chin is deeply dimpled. The hair is arranged in masses of short but wavy tufts, stirred by the air. All these

features, with the square-cut face, form an entirely new type, with an exceedingly individual feeling about it, for it is made younger and more beautiful than nature by the free inspiration of the artist. The same may be said of the body; it is not constructed according to the *Canon* of Polykleitos, too narrow a rule to contain the genius of Praxiteles. The shoulders are too large for the size of the waist; the hips and thighs are rather narrow, and the muscles are modelled with scientific accuracy, but without dryness. The forms are somewhat rounded, but not too soft, giving the idea of youth and grace as well as force. There is extreme care in detail; the right foot, which happily has been recovered, is unique for careful study.

The Hermes is too incomplete, owing to the loss of the legs, perfectly to satisfy the eye. We miss that last look of the whole which embraces a perfect statue at the moment before leaving it. The iron supports which uphold the marble, and the heavy, square pedestal upon which the framework stands, are exceedingly painful to the eye. But this very feeling, so exceptional, this regret, which is almost a pain, prove the perfection of the work. The Kephisos of Pheidias and the Hermes of Praxiteles are the two supreme heights of Greek sculpture. In those two statues (to speak only of those surviving of which we ourselves can judge), the two greatest sculptors of antiquity succeeded in expressing their ideal, the noblest that has ever been conceived.

To the works associated with the name of Praxiteles quite lately has been added the very beautiful head of the youthful under-world hero, Eubouleus, found at Eleusis, and now in the Central Museum at Athens.

We are unable to figure it here, but it cannot be left unnoted, for there is a high probability that it was actually from the hand of the master himself.

After Praxiteles, there is a pause in Greek sculpture; and, in artistic matters, not to advance generally means to go back. It is impossible, however, to speak of decadence before pointing out some of the most perfect works of the period of Praxiteles left to us by Greece. Around Scopas and Praxiteles a multitude of sculptors are grouped, their rivals or disciples, whose glory only pales beside the genius of the two masters. Leochares and Bryaxis of Athens, Timotheos, Pythios, and Kephisodotos the younger, Timarchos, Sthennis of Olynthos, Silanion of Athens, Polyeuktos, and many others, whose names and famous works are known to us by inscriptions or texts, and others too whose names are lost, but whose works are preserved, and ranked amongst the finest.

To one of the sculptors of the school of Praxiteles the Demeter must doubtless be ascribed, which Mr. Newton brought from Knidos to the British Museum, in 1858 (fig. 155). It certainly dates from this era, when the hitherto uncertain types of the Hellenic divinities were fixed. What Praxiteles did for Aphrodite, for Apollo, for Hermes, for the Satyr, the unknown master who sculptured the statue of Knidos did for Demeter. In the beginnings of art, the goddess-mother prefers hieratic attitudes. Here (we speak especially of votive terra-cottas) she is simply seated upon a throne, with her hands resting upon her knees, awaiting the homage of men. Upon painted vases various episodes of her legendary career are represented, such as the rape of Kore, or the sending



Fig. 155.—The Demeter of Knidos (British Museum).

forth of Triptolemos; but the features of the goddess

—as opposed to her mere attributes and attitudes—cannot as yet be said to have been characterized. No artist up to this time had succeeded in embodying one purely Greek conception of the goddess, as poetic as it is religious—the idea of a pagan *Mater dolorosa.* The Demeter of Knidos is the symbol of suffering motherhood. The sculptor wished and succeeded in evoking "that motherhood, full of love, in which all her life is summed up. On her face the weariness of present loneliness is tempered by the hope of a future meeting, and, at the same time, in the soul of the spectator, the sadness of a wretched mortal is lightened by the heavenly thought of the happy life which will begin for him to-morrow. For such were the necessities imposed by the religion, already steeped in the philosophy of the end of the fourth century, upon the sculptor who was charged to make an image of Demeter, which was to be the object of a cult. . . . The large, full proportions, the rather heavy attitude, all indicate motherhood. The head, sculptured in Parian marble, whose alabaster-like transparency gives a most life-like appearance, is that of a woman past her first youth, but upon whom age, as yet, does not weigh" (O. Rayet). Grief is vividly impressed upon her face, without theatrical exaggeration; her veil frames, with much dignity, the face upon which mute anguish rests. Ample and richly-folded draperies are majestically wrapped about the mother's mature body, so that one is tempted to believe with the critics, that were the Demeter to be transported to a Christian church, she would receive the mistaken homages of men, the worship due to the madonnas.

The great naval Nike (Victory) of Samothrace may possibly echo something of the style of Scopas, but is largely imbued with less familiar influences. It was discovered by M. Champoiseau in 1863, and conveyed to the Louvre. Its date is uncertain. The type of Nike in the prow of a ship appears on the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes (306 B.C.), but it cannot safely be asserted that these coins are copied from this actual statue. It has recently been completed by the addition of new fragments, and by the reconstruction of the ship's prow, which served for base. The Victory rises boldly, with her great wings open. Her ample tunic is swollen by the winds, and it is easy to imagine the goddess once more blowing her triumphant trumpet, her whole body swayed by the impetuous action. The Nike of Paionios, boldly launched forward, and, so to speak, suspended in mid-air, received due praise; but the unknown artist who sculptured the masterpiece of Samothrace was far ahead of Paionios. The lively attitude, the ample action, the flutter of the flying draperies blown back in the wind, grandeur, majesty, and life—these are the qualities that strike the least observant beholder at the sight of the splendid marble. But beyond all that, the hardy chisel has hollowed out and cut the marble in folds as light and supple as folds in wool, at times stirred by the air, at times clinging lovingly to the robust and healthy forms of the Nike seen through the marble. It must be admitted that in this drapery there is a boldness and technical ability to be found which even the Iris of the Parthenon does not possess in the same degree. These qualities assure for ever to the Victory of Samothrace a glorious

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rank, not only in the Louvre, where it is splendidly placed at the head of the great staircase, but as compared with the treasures of all other European museums (fig. 156).



Fig. 156.—The Victory of Samothrace (Louvre).

Such qualities, though in a less degree, also mark and date the interesting statues of the Nereids which have passed from the Agora of Xanthos, in Lycia, to the British Museum. A large sub-basement, decorated with friezes in bas-relief, supported an Ionian colonnade, and in between the columns stood fifteen figures of women — the Nereids, doubtless, who gave their name to the whole monument. They stood in an attitude of flight, with draperies flying in the wind. The art of the friezes is

commonplace, and probably local. They represent a battle in the open country, the siege, assault, and capitulation of a fortress, the levying of tribute, and other warlike scenes, recalling the exploits of the Lycian monarch Pericles, whose tomb this monument formed. With a certain taste for grouping, and the varied composition of vast scenes, with action, sometimes with originality, there is also a certain coarseness to be found, and faults in anatomy and drawing. With a praiseworthy attempt at originality, and a very individual sense of decoration, there is almost always an awkward and often coarse realism. It requires a great effort to see, as people generally do, the influence of the great Attic sculptors, to some degree, in this decorative work. Even the horses, which have been supposed to be in the style of those of the Panathenaic frieze, have only one feature in common, and that is their small stature. As for the statues, however, they are purely Greek work, even Attic, much more originally conceived, and of an almost finished execution. They occupy a place between the Olympian Nike (of Paionios) and that of Samothrace, both of which they recall, the former by the rather heavy forms, the latter by the arrangement and execution of the flying draperies.

It is an æsthetic feeling, stronger than any archæological reasons, which causes us also to ascribe to this privileged era of Scopas and Praxiteles the Venus of Milo. This anonymous masterpiece was bought, in 1820, for the Louvre Museum, by the Marquis de Rivière, Ambassador of King Louis XVIII. at Constantinople (figs. 157, 158). The island of Milo (Melos) is a favoured spot; most of the works



Fig. 157.—Venus of Milo, Melos (Louvre).

discovered there have a high artistic value. The head of the Melos Asklepios in the British Museum has been cited already; and a marble Poseidon, in the National Museum of Athens, has still to be reconstructed. All broken as it is, lying in scattered pieces in a melancholy temporary room where the statues are ranged along the walls like corpses, its majesty and haughty air fill the visitors with admiration. And yet, it would have been glory enough for the little island to have given its name to the Aphrodite of the Louvre.

It is of small importance that we do not know what was the action of the lost arms of the goddess; whether she held a buckler, or stretched

her arms to a little Eros standing above her, or drew near to her lover, Ares, with a caressing gesture. As we see her at the end of the gallery in the Louvre, her divine nakedness standing out from the dull background of velvet, in a sober and subdued light, with her broken arms, so will she always remain in the memory



Fig. 158.—Head of the Venus of Milo, Melos.

of those who have visited her. And in the spirit of the spectator, dazzled by such pure and brilliant beauty, there is for the moment little room for regrets concerning the ravages of time, or for dreams of needless restoration.

The Venus of Milo moves some minds to such artistic delight as to allay any antiquarian curiosity, and it is

difficult to know whether to envy or to blame those who do not allow an ever-lively admiration at the sight as at the thought of this masterpiece, to prevent them from trying to discover its meaning. For some of us,* it is the Aphrodite, goddess of love, the highest and holiest feeling, when it is not merely the vulgar stirring of the senses. It is Aphrodite,—not she whom, in the arms of Ares, Hephaïstos snared in his net amidst the loud laughter of the gods, but such an Aphrodite as the great Lucretius saw: "The desired of men and gods, mother of all things, who beneath the moving stars gives increase to the sea that bearest ships, gives increase to the earth that bringest forth harvests, who favourest the conception of every living creature, and their birth, into the light of day. Goddess, before whom the winds and the clouds of the heaven fly, before whose feet the teeming earth brings forth fragrant flowers. At thy coming the earth becomes peaceful, and a great light rises. At the first breath of Spring the hearts of the birds begin to beat louder, the wild creatures leap in their rich pastures, and, thrilled with sweet delight, all living nature is the prey of desire. And upon the seas, upon the mountains, by rapid rivers, by leafy retreats of the birds, in the green plains, every heart is filled with sweet love, and the creatures increase and multiply." This, verily, is the goddess whose nakedness is displayed without false shame, frank and chaste; Aphrodite that

* I feel bound to record my view, that whatever may be thought of the statue by the author and others, to me it appears not an Aphrodite at all, but a Victory, and a work—possibly the copy of an earlier original—not to be dated before the second century B.C.—J. E. H.

rules the desires of men, but unmoved, as befits a divinity, nor stirred by them herself. Her serious head, her indefinable smile, breathing grave, calm love, and not light or restless passion; her healthful mother's breasts, her large limbs, expanding in the sober light of their maternity, awake thoughts solemn and sane rather than voluptuous. The soft falling drapery which is arrested half way by the curved lines of the hips and the half-raised knee, could have slipped lower, or fallen in folds about the feet of Aphrodite; entirely naked, or only half so, the goddess would remain the Genetrix, the nurse, the mother, the ideal woman who could not touch impure desire with the sole of her scornful foot. It is difficult to know which is more deserving of praise, the imagination which conceived such a simple, noble, and pure type, or the hand which hewed out of a block of the finest, most transparent, and polished Parian marble, the material forms of the purest and holiest image of a woman that ever artist dreamed of.

X.

LYSIPPOS.

For Herakles Epitrazezius of Lysippos, see Murray, A. S., *J. H. S.*, iii. 241. For portrait sculpture among the Greeks, see P. Wolters, "Beiträge zür Griechischen Ikonographie," *Mitt. des K. D. Arch. Inst. Rome*, 1889, vol. iv.

Lysippos of Sicyon had a very long life, which filled three-quarters of the fourth century, and a fruitful as well as glorious career. Pliny affirms that he was the author of more than fifteen hundred statues, any one of which would have made an artist famous. This somewhat later contemporary of Scopas and Praxiteles, and compatriot of the Argive Polykleitos, was in his own days an independent worker, a self-taught man, and was held to be the founder of a school. He used to boast that he owed nothing to personal influence, and was the student of nature.

Men, not as they are, but as they seemed to him to be, these were his models; and the characteristics he sees in them are these: small heads, slender and wiry bodies. It is easily seen that Lysippos repudiated the *canon* of Polykleitos, which prescribed rather close-set forms to men, broad, thick-set bodies, and strong heads. Pliny said that Lysippos, being pre-eminently careful to retain the symmetry, or so to speak the balance of proportions, modified those

which had been in vogue before his day, and transformed the square-bodied statues so dear to the ancients.

These theories, this system applied unflinchingly by Lysippos, give him a place apart, and add an exceptional value to the statue in the Vatican called the Apoxyomenos (fig. 159), an authentic copy of one of his most famous bronzes.



Fig. 159.—The Apoxyomenos of Lysippos (Vatican).

The Apoxyomenos is an athlete, who is passing under his right arm the strigil—a little instrument which served to scrape off the oil and sand with which the athletes anointed their bodies in the public wrestling places. The new *canon* is clearly revealed. The man is tall, slim, and slender, but wiry and robust. Owing to the length of his limbs and the slim-

ness of the torso, which is thin at the waist and narrow at the shoulders, and yet muscular, he has an air of great activity combined with force. The head is small, in the characteristic style of Lysippos—noted by the ancients; the features of the face are extremely refined. The hair is freely modelled in separate tufts. This is the masterpiece which Marcus Agrippa placed before his Baths; and of which Tiberius, seized with enthusiasm, took possession for his own palace, but was soon forced to yield back to the demands of the people. If we could look upon the original bronze statue, we should realize more clearly the new type conceived by Lysippos, for it is one of the qualities of bronze statues that the illusions of light lengthen the forms yet more, and soften down the curves.



Fig. 160.—The seated Herakles of Lysippos.

The works of Lysippos are of more than one kind. He went through the whole cycle of young, strong, and beautiful gods—Zeus, Poseidon, Dionysos, Eros, and above all, Herakles: Herakles seated (fig. 160); Herakles Epitrapezios seated eating and drinking; Herakles standing at rest, leaning upon his club. These famous statues have often been described in the epigrams. Some would recognise a copy of the seated Herakles in the celebrated torso of the Belvidere, the work of Apollonios, son of Nestor the Athenian (fig. 161); a more probable copy is the stone statuette in the British Museum. The resting Herakles may have suggested the famous Farnese Herakles of the Naples

Museum, the work of Glykon of Athens (fig. 162). It is indeed possible that as to the poses which they both give to the god, these two statues were inspired by the bronze of Lysippos. But we do not discover in them any of the peculiar characteristics of Lysippos, and they are more probably works of a later date, and belonging to a totally different school, with only a reminiscence of the works of Lysippos.



Fig. 161.—The Belvidere torso (Vatican).

The Apoxyomenos is decidedly the best example of the talent of Lysippos, as not even one authentic portrait of Alexander the Great has survived, though Lysippos, the official sculptor of the conqueror, executed many such. Lysippos, and he alone, had the right to reproduce the august visage of the monarch in bronze, just as Pyrgoteles only might engrave it on a gem, and Apelles paint it. It is easy to believe, on the testimony of the ancients, with what rare ingenuity of observation Lysippos has seized the very likeness of the king, his head inclined on the left shoulder, his



Fig. 162.—The Farnese Herakles (Naples Museum).

eyes raised to heaven and, spite of his brilliant hardihood and lion-like looks, seemingly wet with tears.

As for the allegorical statue of Kairos, Opportunity, so famous in antiquity, it can best be described by the following epigram :—" Whence is thy sculptor ? From Sicyon. What is his name ? Lysippos. And thou, what art thou ? Opportunity, which masters all things. Why dost thou stand on tip-toe ? I am always running. Why hast thou double wings to thy feet ? To fly in the air. Why this sharp knife in thy right hand ? To show mortals that I am keener than any point. And thy locks, why do they fall over thine eyes ? By Zeus, it is by the hair that I must be seized in the struggle. And behind, why art thou bald ? He whom I have once outstripped with my winged feet, in spite of his desire, shall never catch me from behind. And why did the artist sculpture thee ? For your sake, unknown one ; he has placed me in this vestibule to teach you a lesson."

The allegory certainly is very pretentious and cold ; its ingenuity may be praised, but perhaps we could better have endured the loss of the epigram than that of the statue of Lysippos. Numerous disciples at Sicyon and all over Greece followed the *canon* of Lysippos. His three sons, Daïppos, Boëdas, and Euthycrates, who had famous disciples of his own, gave the example of this imitation to Phanis, to Tisicrates, Eutychides, to Chares of Lindos, and to many more. Euthycrates was distinguished by his choosing to follow his father's genius in its austerer aspect ; he delighted in a grave rather than in a lighter kind of subject. We cannot judge him accurately, as none of his works have survived.

As for Chares of Lindos, he it was who conceived and sculptured the colossus of Rhodes. This enormous bronze, sixty-two cubits in height, represented the sun. Overturned by an earthquake, in Pliny's time it still astonished people by its bulk. Few men, said he, can span its thumb, whilst its other fingers are higher than most statues. Vast caverns are opened up in its disjointed limbs, full of great blocks of stone, which were originally destined to keep it erect. It took twelve years to make it, and thirteen hundred talents were expended upon it, the sum realized by the apparatus abandoned by Demetrius, when he grew tired of besieging Rhodes. Probably the only wonderful thing about this world's wonder was its bulk; enormous grandeur is frequently attained at the sacrifice of artistic perfection and beauty. Lysippos may be perhaps reproached with having urged his disciples towards the sensational, and what is sensational is frequently false.

The following chapter will show numerous and memorable examples of this unfortunate tendency.

XI.

THE SCHOOL OF PERGAMOS.

The Pergamene frieze: Farnell, L., *J. H. S.*, iii., 301; iv., 135; vi., 102; Article in Baumeister's *Denkmäler,* "Pergamos." Votive figures of Attalos, P. Wolters' article in *Jahrbuch,* i., p. 85; Mayer's article in *Jahrbuch*, ii., p. 77.

The conquests of Alexander, the dismemberment of his vast empire into powerful rival kingdoms, gave to Hellenic civilization, which was already widely spread beyond Greece, a new impulse and fresh brilliancy. Great artists must no longer be sought in European Greece alone, or in the adjacent islands. The successors of the fifth and fourth century masters follow in the train of the successors of Alexander; there is no longer a school confined to Athens, Argos, or Sicyon; there is no longer, so to speak, any school at all, or, at any rate, any dominant school. In all the capitals of the newly-founded kingdoms, in every rich town, each artist, in the measure in which his sovereign, his circumstances or his own genius favoured or forwarded him, chose a line for himself without holding to the doctrine or example of a master, and without undergoing influences of which, perhaps, he is not conscious. Therefore, henceforth, any attempt to classify or date the works of sculpture is attended with confusion and great difficulty. These works

arose after the end of the fourth century B.C. in infinite numbers all over the new Greek world, and our museums are crowded with them.

The survey of the sculptured monuments ascribed to this happily named *era of Hellenism*, must, therefore, be cautiously undertaken. The era which begins with the successors of Alexander includes the whole of the struggle with Rome of the Greek kingdoms in Asia, and stretches, through the Roman Empire, to its irretrievable decline. In this long, various, and vexed period, the political and military spirit of Greece first grew torpid, and finally slept, with only rare and unimportant awakenings. The commercial spirit, on the other hand, was roused to all its first life and force, and the artistic spirit, more fertile if not more powerful than ever, spread its wings afresh and flew over the whole world. Overthrown by the arms of Rome, Greece vanquished her victors by letters and arts. But this cannot be spoken of as a renaissance, for since the great classic period of Pericles, until the triumph of Christianity,—which killed the heathen arts, and was the beginning of a new history, independent and upon a new basis, in plastic as in politics,—there was no interruption in the artistic production of the Greeks. This is abundantly proved by one fact. The Venus of Milo, whose beauties have been described, and which has been studied as one of the purest and most perfect statues of the classic era, is often classed amongst the works of the Greco-Roman era, upon doubtful evidence, and that, moreover, by archæologists who are unquestionable authorities. It is impossible to agree, even with weighty critics, upon this point ;

but it must be admitted that with many works it is easy to make a like mistake. If only æsthetic reasons are considered in dating them, they can be dated two or three centuries later or earlier without the charge of carelessness being incurred, so long did the inspiration of sculptors remain fertile and various, and their execution bold and able.

If, amidst this confused heap of riches, order must be obtained at any price, the distinctions made by most historians may be accepted,—the School of Pergamos, the School of Rhodes, and the School of Tralles. But the artificial and inadequate character of the classification must be strongly insisted upon. Pergamos, Rhodes, and Tralles were important centres at different times before the Roman Conquest, where art flourished brilliantly. But they were not the only towns, and they did not issue the word of command to the rest of the Hellenic world. The use of the word *school* in this sense of the word would be inaccurate; the names only indicate groups, and at most, artistic tendencies.

Pergamos, a humble city in the north of Smyrna, only began to be important in the third century B.C. It was the capital of one of the kingdoms born, about 283 B.C., of the dismembering of the Empire of the Seleucidæ. It was occupied by the dynasty of the Attalidæ, who happily numbered among their kings such men as Attalus I. He was the first to take the title of king; he reigned forty-four years, and was chiefly famous for the great victory over the Asiatic Gauls. Attalus deserved the honours of heroization for his overthrow of these hordes of invaders, for driving them back and restricting them to a few

districts in the north of Phrygia. They came rushing in from the west to the east, plundering and massacring all that came in their way, just as later on the Huns came from the west to the east.

A successor of Attalus, Eumenes II., celebrated another triumph over the Gauls, by the erection of a splendid monument on the Acropolis of Pergamos, an altar sacred probably to Zeus. A large portion of the sculptured frieze of this altar has been discovered by the very fortunate German excavators. The great bas-reliefs which adorned the basis, and the staircase of the altar, can be seen and admired in Berlin. Two reliefs represent Zeus and Athena in combat with the giants (figs. 163, 164). The entire frieze, 2·3 mètres in height, must doubtless have been 144 mètres in length.

These colossal representations are a long way from the simple sobriety of the decorative sculptures of Attica, and also from the anatomical simplicity of the gods or athletes of Polykleitos, or even of Lysippos. The violence, the rage of the barbarians arrested by Attalus and Eumenes in their ravages, seem to have entered deeply into the imagination and the work of the artists of Pergamos. There is more than movement in the battle which the huge sons of earth, half men and half serpents, wage against the whole company of the Olympian gods. It is, indeed, a battle between gods and giants, passing the strength of men. These gods, these giants, clash, stand up, or fall and roll in the dust, in accurately audacious attitudes, which are occasionally disconcerting to the taste. The forms of their powerful bodies, their muscles, swollen with the



Fig. 163.—Zeus fighting the giants, great altar of Pergamos (Berlin).

strain, sometimes unnaturally distended, are altogether in excess of what is natural. But the faults of taste, the excess and overflow of life, the revelling in starting muscles, subtract from, though they do not wholly mar, the grandeur and power of this colossal work. The sculptors have aimed at effect, and it would appear that they attained their end. The arrangement of the whole series of slabs has been successfully reconstructed by Bohn, who has replaced the bas-reliefs at the foot of the vast and heavy porticoes which served to enclose the gigantic altar of Zeus, and rose above the imposing steps of the monumental staircase. Seen from below, at some distance, the excesses are softened down, the search for unusual movements and the strain is diminished; the exaggeration of the muscles seems almost necessary to make the forms clear, and the relief strong enough. If viewed from a short distance, and close in front, certain figures stand out in an exceptionally lifelike manner, even striking us with the daring and intense feeling which they express. Thus Zeus (fig. 163) with one hand has launched his thunderbolts against a fallen giant, and brandishes the ægis with the other. He strikes terror right and left of him, and his two arms, stretched out on either side of his muscular breast, seem to embrace the whole of the vast battle-field. Zeus is splendidly impetuous and majestic in his power. He is not the calm Olympian of Pheidias, grave and serene upon his golden throne; he is the god of arms, the vanquisher of giants, impotent in revolt.

Another splendid slab (fig. 164) represents Athena in full flight. She grasps a dying, youthful giant by



Fig. 164.—Athena fighting the giants (Berlin).

the hair, and drags him along in her triumphant progress. Nike flies forward to crown her; while from the earth below the pathetic figure of Ge, the earth mother, uprises to implore pity for her giant sons.

It must be added that these same sculptors, who might even be called idealists, who see nature, and particularly the human body, through a magnifying glass, very often, also, try to express the passions realistically. The young giant, stricken by the thunder of Zeus (fig. 163), is a case in point. "With the left arm," says Mrs. Lucy Mitchell, "he is feeling his wounded shoulder; his head is falling back, and soon his young body will fail in death. In this attitude doctors see very distinct symptoms of convulsions, probably caused by the awful effect of the ægis. Thus the strained muscles of the right arm, the contraction about the groin, and the whole body, denote convulsive agony. It is terribly realistic, and would be revolting, were it not tempered by wonderfully skilful modelling."

The same qualities, the same failings, are characteristic of the works of this era,—of this "school" if we will. In the same place, upon the Acropolis of Pergamos, Attalus consecrated to the same divinities, Zeus and Athena, statues in bronze, representing the vanquished Gauls. The names of the artists quoted as fellow-workers are Isigonos, Phyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos, who wrote a treatise upon his art. Two of these works are known to us by probable copies: one is a group of the Villa Ludovisi —a Gaul who, after having killed his wife, is killing himself to escape slavery—the so-called Pætus and Arria; the other is a statue in the Museum of the

Capitol—a wounded Gaul, known as the "dying Gladiator," in the death agony, the drooping head being raised and supported with difficulty by the right arm. The two works are fine, the execution being more sober and the feeling more delicate than in the frieze of the grand altar. There is more idealism, mingled with a less brutal realism; the figures are living and vigorous, freely posed, and originality is sought in rare and novel effects.

These two works should be compared with certain statues scattered over the European Museums, almost



Fig. 165.—Wounded Amazon (Naples Museum).

undoubtedly authentic reproductions of a votive offering sent by Attalus to the gods of Athens, his faithful ally, and which were consecrated on the south wall of the Acropolis itself. One feels that perhaps the copyist may have softened down the family features of the School of Pergamos.

At Naples, in Rome, at Venice, at Aix in Provence, a series of Gauls, of Greeks, of fighting or wounded Amazons are to be found, in which the inspiration and execution is unmistakably that of the sculptors of the frieze and the Dying Gaul. The statues are less

than life size, which is vexatious, for the violent poses and action in these figures, with their reduced proportions, become grimaces and contortions. The departure from nature and the convention are much more apparent in the fragments of the Athenian votive offering than, for instance, in the frieze. Perhaps the most strikingly



Fig 166.—Fighting Persian.

original figure among all that survive is the dead Amazon (fig. 165), stretched all her length upon her back, lying as she fell. The sculptor has had no thought, as one would naturally fear, of arranging the body of the woman-warrior in some theatrical attitude. With the Amazon, the kneeling Persian of the Vatican Museum may also be placed. It is an energetic and

brutal figure of a barbarian, eager for the fray, huddled together, ready to spring like a deer, wiry and strong under his trousers or mantle, which cling after the fashion of his country (fig. 166).

The influence of Pergamos was far-reaching. Certain ancient copies of some parts of the frieze of the great altar, made at the very time when it was sculptured, are quoted. Some particularly famous works, too, such as the frieze of the temple of Priene, for instance, have been compared with the frieze of Pergamos, on account of their bold and dramatic style; but with reference to this frieze it must be owned that it is quite possibly of the preceding century. The conquest of the kingdom by the Romans caused this influence very soon to pass into Italy, where, especially in Rome, its effects will be seen in the works known as Greco-Roman.

XII.

THE SCHOOL OF RHODES. THE SCHOOL OF TRALLES.

Just as the frieze of the great altar is typical of sculpture at Pergamos, so the famous group of the Laocoön, discovered in Rome in 1506 on the site of the Palace of Titus, is the most complete and significant expression of the sculpture of Rhodes (fig. 167).

Pliny the elder ascribes the work to three artists, Agesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros. According to him, this work is superior to anything ever produced by painting or sculpture, and he quotes it as a rare instance of a masterpiece by more than one hand. Pliny's opinion has long prevailed in modern times; Winckelmann accepted it without reserve, and his school is unanimous in exaggerated eulogy. It is well known that Lessing, wishing to fix the limits of the domain allowed to each of the plastic arts, chose the Laocoön as a starting-point for his study. The force and intensity of expression of a Laocoön, has, in fact, never been surpassed by any Hellenic sculptor; the sensation of physical suffering has never been reproduced more clearly or vividly in marble.

This old man, still vigorous and robust; these two youths—the one already of almost virile maturity, the other younger and slighter, whom huge serpents enfold

and bite, regardless of their vain defence, do in



Fig. 167.—Laocoön (Vatican).

very truth suffer, and display their suffering. In the

stiffened bodies the veins are swollen, the muscles start out in a desperate effort, the bellies are contracted and sunken, whilst the chests, constricted by the pressure of the serpents, are swollen and dilated with air, while the tortured and convulsed bodies writhe in anguish. The heads thrown back, the failing eyes and open mouths from which issues not so much a cry as the sound of the death groans and rattle, produce upon the mind of the spectator, as much and even more than the convulsed bodies, the most tragic effect possible. Nevertheless, in spite of this display of bodily pain, which sets on the whole work the seal of materialism, there is in the grouping of the figures, in their frank nakedness, above all in the expression of the faces, where feeling shows through the merely animal sensations of suffering, undeniably a height of ideal inspiration which singularly raises the level of the work and doubles its interest.

This is especially true of the two sons of the Laocoön, particularly the elder, who turns a beseeching look upon his father. The speaking mouth, the eye sunk in the socket and wrinkled with lines of suffering, all plead for impossible help. And with singularly just observation, fear, anguish and desperate entreaty are blended with the involuntary contraction of the muscles under the influence of physical pain.

In short, in spite of some exaggeration in the pathological anatomy, and in spite of the attitudes and sufferings being rather too much emphasised, the effect of the whole is so vivid, so real and complete, that the obvious faults perpetrated by the sculptors are easily forgotten. For instance, the three bodies are

out of proportion, and so also are the two heads of the children, which are too small for their bodies. In comparison with their father, and considering their own size, the two youths ought to have quite childish forms, whereas they have merely those of smaller men, and their heads seem to be borrowed from statues whose dimensions were less even than their own. A fault arising from clumsy restoration must also be noted; the right arms of Laocoön and his youngest son were not raised, as they appear in the engraving, but bent at the elbow and brought in front of the heads. The effect of the body thus gathered together was more striking, and the group much more regular; it formed a pyramid, whose highest point was the head of the Laocoön, and had a more united and vigorous aspect. As it is now, its characteristics are still exceedingly accurate and interesting. It belongs to the school of Lysippos in its anatomy; in its composition and intensity of expression, to that of Scopas; in its faults, exaggeration, and theatrical aspect, to the school of Pergamos. As for the date, it is not easy to choose one between those contended by archæologists. Lessing spoke of the age of Titus, and was of opinion that the group was sculptured by that prince himself; this is of course impossible. A painting at Pompeii, of the first century A.D., is manifestly inspired by the marble group. Besides, artists contemporary with Titus would certainly have carefully followed the account of Virgil in the second book of the Æneid, and there is no trace of such influence in the sculpture. It belongs much more probably to the middle of the second century before Christ, for that is the date of the frieze of the altar of

Pergamos, and there are striking resemblances between the two works. Not to speak of style, the young giant struggling with a serpent in the Athena group (fig. 167), as has been already remarked, is extremely like Laocoön. The head is thrown back in the same way, the arm is bent behind the head, the body leans towards the right, and the leg is stretched out all in the same manner. M. Wolters is probably right in preferring this date to that of the third century B.C., proposed by those who see numerous links between the chief work of the School of Rhodes and that of the School of Tralles, the Farnese Bull (fig. 168).

This monument, the largest surviving specimen of Greek sculpture in the round, was discovered in 1546 or 1547, in the time of Pope Paul III., in the hot baths of Caracalla, in Rome. Since 1786, it has been in the Naples Museum. Excavated in a grievous state of mutilation, it has been ably restored by Giovan-Battista della Porta, from the indications given by the fragments themselves; and the conception and composition of the whole, at any rate, if not the technical details, can be perfectly realized.

The theme is the punishment of Dirke, the unnatural daughter of Antiope, who was fastened to the horns of a fierce bull by her brothers Amphion and Zethos. The animal is rearing, one cord already wound round its horns, and the two brothers, Amphion on the right (distinguished by his lyre), and Zethos on the left, are seizing it by the muzzle and the horns, pulling violently at the cords in their effort to constrain it. In front of them, at their feet, is Dirke. She is half-naked, and terror-striken, for the bull grazes with its hoofs the arm

and head of the unhappy victim, and she turns imploringly to her destroyers. The scene takes place on a rock with trees growing on it; Amphion and Zethos are standing, perched on the points of the rock. A woman, doubtless Antiope, a mountain deity, smaller than the other figures, and a dog, witness the torture. Here and there, on the windings of the rock, animals are sculptured, leaves and emblems of the worship of Dionysos, a basket, thyrsos, etc., because the vengeance took place during a Dionysiac fête.

According to Pliny, the group, hewn out of a single block of marble, was the work of Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles. A mere glance even at the engraving (fig. 168) reveals grave faults. The odd composition of the group has been criticized: the men suspended, unstably poised on the points of the rock or leaning against the trunks of trees which grow, one scarcely knows how, out of the stones: the allegorical animals sculptured on the rock with their minute dimensions, like the god seated upon the right, who is smaller than the dog. It has been said in jest that Dirke has nothing to do with the others, and that it would have been quite easy for her to escape. Moreover her attitude is contorted, and the awkward position of her body is utterly unnatural. It is a slight excuse that the Farnese Bull was very probably destined to adorn a garden, intended possibly to rise amidst a group of plants, and the odd shape of the rock, with its sharpness and points, was to stand for a mountain top.

It must be remarked, moreover, that the group is symmetrical; Zethos agrees with Amphion, Antiope

with Dirke; the bull forms the centre, and his head is the apex of a pyramid. Moreover, the group is so arranged that from whatever point of view it is approached, it appears to be the front view, which proves conclusively that it was destined to serve



Fig. 168.—The Farnese Bull (Naples).

in some way as the central ornament. The good qualities are as obvious as the faults; *verve*, imagination, action, a very clear feeling for a great decorative whole. The sculptors worked for effect, and they attained it.

But the chief interest of the group lies in the vivid impression, gained at first sight, that Apollonios and Tauriskos have gone beyond the domain of sculpture. The Laocoön in its effort to produce expression touched the extreme limits of this art. The Farnese Bull exceeds them by the complication of its theme. The sculptors have conceived their work in the spirit of a painter, and it is a serious fault. They have not grasped the fact that the chisel necessarily gives to all the figures, to all the accessories, of a group the same intensity of relief and of life. There is no gradation, as in painting, of importance in different planes and different details. And thus, all the accessories, like the animals and the Dionysiac attributes, which a painter would have justified in giving them, by means of some artifice of colour or composition, their exact value, are prejudicial here, out of proportion, and obtrusive. The Farnese Bull is, as it were, a translation of a picture into marble. The attempt is novel and bold, but its success is more than doubtful. The work, however, although it is so imperfect, has the great merit of exciting criticism, and of awakening grave æsthetic questions.

Another instructive point cannot be passed over. When Virgil relates the death of Laocoön, he first tells of the serpent approaching, and then of how it enfolds the priest; there are, so to speak, two acts in the drama, the first leading up to the second. The sculptors of the Laocoön chose the second, as the most terrible and moving. Apollonios and Tauriskos, on the contrary, have chosen the first act in the drama of Dirke's punishment, the preparatory

act. It seemed to them that there was something brutal and material about the punishment itself, and that there would have been no room for expressing the feelings of the soul. On the other hand, the calm confidence of the two brothers, firmly preparing to avenge their mother by the death of their sister; the physical terror of the victim in front of the stamping bull, and moral horror excited by the thought of the sufferings to come—this whole scene produces anxiety in the spectator, an involuntary oppression while awaiting the bloody event. Such was the theme that excited and warmed the fancy and *verve* of refined artists, at a period when sculpture had become before all things an expressive art. Such a theme tempted the chisel which was by turns accurate and scientific, or free and fantastic; which could conquer every difficulty,—for it could carve out of an enormous block either the delicate and fragile twists of a cord, or the agonized face of a young and beautiful woman about to die; the muscular bodies of athletes subduing a bull, or the soft and childish outlines of a young god wreathed in flowers.

With the group of Apollonios and Tauriskos, this so important creation of the school of Tralles, the history of Greek sculpture proper comes to an end. Artistic life does not cease in all Hellenic countries, but it is at Rome mainly, if not there only, that the great artists now work. The resources of creative art are well-nigh played out. Sculpture has been seen to become self-conscious by degrees, to grow, to progress, to reach perfection and long to maintain it. It has been seen to explore its domain in every direction,

to traverse open roads and to make new ones, to reach and overreach its natural limits. None of its possibilities now are a secret to it; if its history is unfinished, if some of its beautiful and grand achievements have still to be recounted, before its decline sets in, at any rate it is certain that this beauty, this grandeur, will now have little that is novel to us; Greek sculpture henceforth ceases to be creative.

XIII.

GREEK SCULPTURE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Apollo Belvidere: Kieseritzky, *Archæol. Zeitung*, 1883, p. 29; Gercke, *Jahrbuch*, ii., p. 260.

The works of this long period fill our European museums; they are innumerable. They have been discovered in multitudes, first at Rome, in the sumptuous villas and palaces, where the grandees or emperors had amassed them in their pride and avarice; and then in the towns or provinces, where the rich people, often Roman citizens, affected to keep pace with the ostentation of the capital.

This work cannot attempt to give a complete survey, which would demand large volumes; only a few of the most famous statues can be described, without any attempt at classification, for to assign to them any date or school is, in such small compass, impossible. The genius of the sculptors of this era is eminently *eclectic.* Since the kingdom of sculpture seems to have been explored to its farthest limits, and originality is impossible, each one appears, whether consciously or not, to choose a master amongst the famous ones of old, and to abandon himself to imitation of models. It can at least be affirmed that, when there is no signature, or other precise indication, it is almost

always easy to recognise the works of the period, some because they bear the obvious seal of imitation, and others because they begin to display that conventionalism from which classic masterpieces have hitherto been free. And, together with this conventionalism, there are qualities which are already ominous of decay, which by their very excess become almost faults: utterly unnatural refinement, and grace exaggerated to affectation. Three statues are illustrative of this: the Venus de Medici, the Ariadne of the Vatican, and the Apollo Belvidere.

The first is signed by Kleomenes, son of Apollodoros the Athenian, but the inscription is untrustworthy. Moreover, the interest of the statue lies not in the inscription, but entirely in the subject and technique. The Venus de Medici is quite obviously the Venus of Praxiteles arranged to suit the taste of the Roman era. If nothing is altered in the typical attitude of the goddess rising from the sea, the impression produced upon the spectator is different. The innocent and naïve gesture, admired for its modesty by the devotees of Knidos, has now lost something of its chaste reserve. Like Virgil's shepherdess, who flies to the willows and yet wishes to be gazed at, Venus seems to veil herself the better to display her charms. She is no longer the goddess of Knidos, emerging from her mother-waves, but a young and coquettish mortal, who, whilst sporting in the bath, takes good care to display her beautiful figure and wonderfully dressed hair. Or, if she is a goddess, as the little love astride of a gamboling dolphin would seem to indicate, the Olympus where she dwells is no longer the Olympus

of Pheidias and Praxiteles. The fact is, that the artist has ceased to believe in Venus and in Olympus; he does not respect the goddess whom he creates, one who ought never to receive the vows of any worshipper in a temple. He only works to charm the eyes by the brilliance and grace of a naked woman; and as he had incomparable mastery of the chisel, and as the fine, amber-coloured Parian marble lends itself under his hands to all the delicacy of breathing flesh, the work rises to be ranked as one of the finest. At Florence, in the centre of the Tribune, that celebrated *salon* whose narrow space encloses canonical masterpieces enough to make twenty museums famous, the Venus de Medici, before all, attracts and captivates a certain class of spectator by its very studied self-conscious perfection.



Fig. 169.—Venus de Medici (Uffizii, Florence).

The famous Ariadne of the Vatican (fig. 170) conveys almost the same impression. It is impossible to recognise in this beautiful but self-conscious young woman asleep, the passionate lover of Theseus. Softly extended on the folds of her waving robe, the rounded arms about her head in a gracefully studied attitude, her face expressing a soft sentimentality, she seems to sleep for fatigue rather than anguish. She reminds one of Cynthia, Lesbia, Corinna, of any of those amorous ladies who wept the inconstancy of a Titullus



Fig. 170.—Sleeping Ariadne (Vatican).

or an Ovid, while she waited for the next lover. But this is not the Ariadne of Catullus, who "bore in her soul rage untamable," who "gazed afar on the seaweed with sad eyes like the stone image of a Bacchant, with great waves of bitterness surging in her heart."

Such grief would have burst the soft bosom, such invectives would have torn the tender lips, of the Ariadne of the Vatican, this Greek lady of the Decadence. And yet, like the Venus de Medici, though less perfectly, and in spite of the most obvious faults



Fig. 171.—The Belvidere Apollo (Vatican).

(like the unmeaning folds of drapery around the knees),

the statue attracts by reason of its languid grace; and the type, so degenerate, treated by a sceptical sculptor, is engraved in the memory, side by side with the stronger, truer, and more beautiful type created by the imagination of the poet.

The Apollo Belvidere (fig. 171) has fallen much below the rank given to it by Winckelmann. It is no longer considered to be the finest of Greek statues, and justly. Still the work has a value of its own, and no mean one. The young god advances lightly, in all the brilliance of his youthful forces; his gesture is full of pride, he really has an Olympian aspect. But here, again, the lack of original inspiration and of simplicity of execution is to be regretted, qualities which elevate the masterpieces of the century of Pericles. The sculptor has not that ironical irreverence for his god which is so striking in some other statues; he evidently has tried to give him a majestic and noble air, but unhappily the effort is felt. The effect, indeed, is produced, but not naturally and at the first attempt; the work is able, but cold. Apollo is worthy, indeed, to serve as a model to beginners in drawing, so perfect is the form and so pure are the lines; it is most academically correct. But artists who wish to move or charm should choose another ideal; the tiresome and commonplace works which have been, and are still, produced by imitating that too classic type are only too familiar.

The Belvidere Apollo recalls Scopas, whose school fixed the plastic types of the Greek divinities as they were conceived by the religion and poetry of the classic era. The Ares Ludovisi (fig. 172) apparently belongs to the same group in its attributes and attitude. The

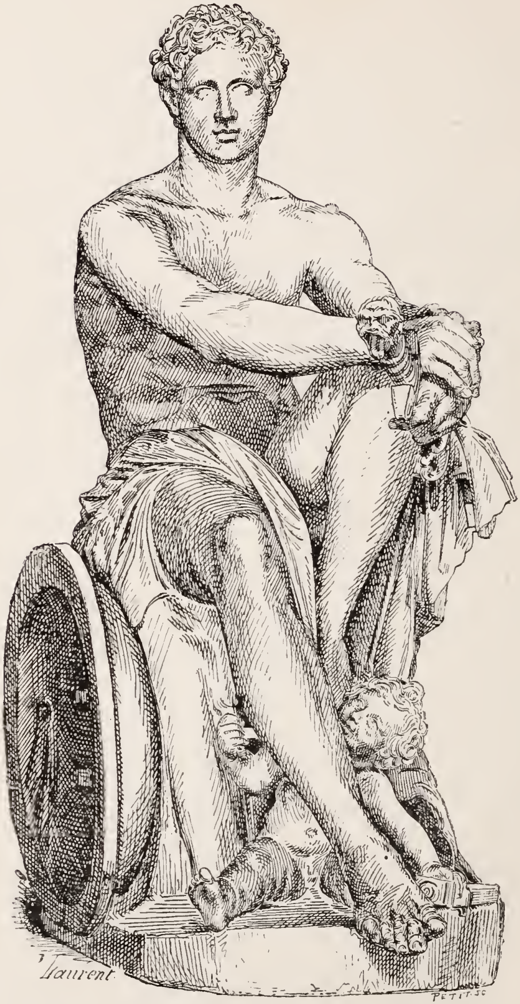


Fig. 172.—Ares Ludovisi (Villa Ludovisi, Rome

little Love alone, placed in an amusing manner between the feet of the god of war, roguish and laughing, shows it to be of the Roman epoch. But the head is in the



Fig. 173.—The "Borghese Gladiator" (Louvre Museum).

manner of Praxiteles (head of Hermes, fig. 154) and the tall body follows the *canon* of Lysippos. A like blending of schools is to be found in the so-called "Borghese Gladiator," the famous work of Agasias

of Ephesus (fig. 173). The statue, more properly called the "armed runner," is visibly inspired by Lysippos—tall, slender, and wiry, with accurate and scientific anatomy, and small, delicate head. But the violent and rapid gesture, chosen like that of the Discobolos, takes us farther back, as far as Myron. Agasias of Ephesus shows himself here to be a clever worker, knowing the masterpieces and understanding them well; but feeling his genius a little dry, and his inspiration to be limited, he resigns himself to a free and tasteful imitation.



Fig. 174.—The Venus of Vienne (Louvre).

These statues have not the value of the Venus of Vienne (in Dauphiné), also an imitated work, but singularly sincere and individual. No type is commoner in antiquity than the crouching Venus, for there is not a more graceful motive, nor one better calculated to display the pliancy, or to bring into relief the harmonious curves, of a woman's body. There are innumerable reproductions of it, but the statue at Vienne has almost

the air of an original. It is a woman's body, blossoming in full maturity, with ample, healthy breasts, strong waist, and round, firm legs. The marble is amber-coloured, like a warm, southern skin, and seems to breathe. It recalls the luxuriant nakedness in which the exuberant and overflowing genius of Rubens delighted. And yet, the work is sober, so much so that, but for the tedious commonplace of the theme, which serves to date the statue, one would be tempted to take it out of this chapter and put it in better company.

XIV.

SCULPTURE IN ETRURIA AND ROME.

Popular *résumé* of Etruscan and Roman archæology, J. Martha, *Manuel d'Archéologie Étrusque et Romaine.* Archaistic works, and specially the Pompeian Artemis: Studniczka, *Mitth. Roemische Abthg.*, iii., 4, p. 277.

A SCHOOL of sculpture undoubtedly existed at Rome, but it cannot be called Roman sculpture. Roman genius was for politics, practical architecture, and war. Long absorbed in conquest, they left the care of adorning their temples, palaces, and public places to their neighbours—soon to be their subjects—of Etruria and Magna-Græcia.

Roman sculpture, especially since the Tarquins, is primarily Etruscan. Its simple history must now be rapidly sketched and the chief features noted.

The Etruscans are the first and the only ancient people of the Italian race who seem to have been gifted with an artistic sense. Herodotus maintained that the Etruscans were the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi who came from the coasts of Lydia. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that they were natives of the Rhætian Alps. Modern historians, constructing more or less ingenious systems, founded chiefly upon hypotheses, have seen in the Etruscans by turns Egyptians, Celts, Italians, Sclaves or Tartars. Thus much only is certain—that, once esta-

blished in Tuscany, their civilization received an impetus whose force is every day attested by fresh discoveries. They dated back, by their own account, from long before the foundation of Rome to the eleventh century B.C. Their power, of which we have sure testimony, dating from the tenth century B.C., reached northwards beyond the Po, and southwards over the whole Campania. Latium, which gave birth to Rome, was part of their domain. The Romans had long to struggle against the Etruscans, and it was only in the third century B.C. that they succeeded in reducing them to impotence, and finally absorbing them.

The enormous vitality of this people is revealed by the manner in which the plastic arts developed among them. The necropolises of Vulci, Chiusi, Corneto, Cervetri, and others yet more numerous, whose subterranean tombs are adorned with frescoes in excellent preservation, are deservedly famous. From them hundreds of sarcophagi have been taken, thousands of vases, mirrors, bronze vessels, and precious jewels, which prove the wealth of the Etruscans, their flourishing import trade with Greece, and also their enlightened taste for the decoration which makes useful objects pleasant to the eye, and for painting and sculpture, which each, in their own language, reproduce living forms, scenes in the life of men, or myths in the life of gods.

This art is not always, nor in all its manifestations, original. In contact, like all the other border countries of the Mediterranean, at once with the Phœnicians, with Greek traders, with the Hellenic settlers of Sicily and Magna-Græcia, Etruria early became an importing

country. Commerce by sea brought to it innumerable products of Phœnician or Greek industry, which are to be found there in all their original purity. The famous treasure of Palestrina (Præneste), discovered in 1876, is a case in point. Here, mingled with other precious objects, were cups chased in gilded silver, exactly like Cypriot cups, one of them bearing a Phœnician inscription. On the other hand, the infinite collection of painted vases may be quoted, long known as Etruscan, but now owned on all hands to be almost entirely of purely Greek manufacture. These works, both Phœnician and Greek, possessed such a decided value and character that they must have greatly influenced the local art and industry. Thus in judging Etruscan art there are three elements to be distinguished—Oriental, Greek, and Etruscan.

In sculpture these elements reduce themselves almost always to the two last. In the study of sculpture in primitive Greece, we saw how and why the sculpture of Egypt and Assyria had only influenced it indirectly. Etruscan sculpture escaped eastern influence for the same reasons. The artists of central Italy never saw Egyptian or Asiatic statues, nor even those of Phœnicia, because the Phœnicians could not have sold the images of Asiatic gods or kings, any more than those of their own gods or chiefs, in a country whose religion and culture differed entirely. On the other hand, Greek influence is evident, not merely at the still recent epoch when Etruria was wholly Hellenised, but in more distant times, as the monuments testify.

The fact is, that in Etruria it is with funeral sculpture exclusively that we are acquainted. It is known

that their temples had sometimes pediments decorated with statues, but only unmeaning fragments of those survive: no statue of a deity has been preserved. Their art must be judged from the terra-cotta sarcophagi exhumed from the necropolises. These are, indeed, documents of first rate value, in acquainting us with beliefs and customs, but they are, upon the whole, more the products of manufacture than of art. Too much must not be expected of them, nor must it be inferred that Etruscan sculpture merely possessed the good qualities or faults displayed in them.

An example may be taken from amongst the most ancient sarcophagi discovered at Cære, and instances no wise inferior may be studied in the Etruscan room of the British Museum. The subject is the usual one; the coffin is in the form of a bed of state, and upon it two figures, supported upon their elbows, are stretched—doubtless the dead man and his wife (fig. 175). The grouping of the figures is simple and decidedly delicate. The husband, placed behind his wife, is leaning upon higher cushions, and thus rises above his companion, whom he seems affectionately to protect. The two busts are well separated, the attitude of the man does not embarrass that of the woman, and though they are closely united, each has an individual life. This sarcophagus is also a highly commendable instance as to the disposition of the draperies thrown about the bed—the cushions and garments are treated with considerable skill. The folds cross or follow one another not ungracefully. They are even pliant in places, and the stuffs are in this way rather superior to those of the Greek archaic statues. The

frieze which adorns the supports and crossbar of the



Fig. 175.—Etruscan sarcophagus (Louvre).

bed is obviously in Greek style, and slight and sober.

Moreover there is great care bestowed in the adjustment of the woman's headdress, and in the arrangement of the man's hair and beard. The faces are singularly living and individual, as if the effort of the sculptor had been expended in trying to get an exact likeness, which may have been demanded by Etruscan beliefs. The colour, which in the bodies is quite uniform and conventional, is tastefully and naturally used to animate the faces. In all these details the influence of the taste, sobriety, and ingenious technique of the Greeks is easily to be recognised.

But alongside of these good qualities are many faults for which the Etruscan genius must be held responsible. The anatomy is coarse; not only are the busts badly hewn, heavy, large, and soft, but there is no modelling in the arms, the hands are shapeless, and the bodies bisected at the waist; and it seems impossible that the legs, rigorously stretched out on the bed, can be attached to the hips. It is astonishing that in the same work so much inexperience is to be seen, united to the skill which has just been commended. This is the dominant feature of Etruscan sculpture. Although Greek art largely pervaded Etruria, so that Etruscan sculpture became, so to speak, a section of Hellenic art, the good qualities have developed without the faults vanishing. The sarcophagi become richer, the fronts of the funeral couches are covered with bas-reliefs, and the attitudes in which the dead recline are more and more choice. Their clothes are more gracefully draped, their adornment is more elaborate, their faces are more lifelike; but their bodies are always badly put together, with no real anatomical feeling. In

the same way, the themes of the bas-reliefs, which are generally scenes borrowed from Hellenic mythology, have variety and action. The composition is sober and simple, and even scientific at times; but the bodies of men, women, and animals are inaccurate in form and drawing. All these works bear the stamp of a narrow mind and a clumsy hand; the Etruscan ceramic sculptors were never more than bad pupils of the Greeks.

In the days of the Tarquins, Etruscan sculpture was entirely Hellenised. Etruria introduced into Rome the sculptors who decorated the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, erected the statue of the god in the sanctuary, and sculptured several statues which are mentioned in the texts, such as Tanaquil spinning at her distaff. But the Roman spirit, though as little as possible occupied with art, was yet too original and domineering not to impress upon its Etruscan guests a little of its own character; their works were bound to be touched with something more naïve and austere. For instance, the memorial statues with which the Forum was filled, the number and variety of which Cato scoffed at, the iconic busts of ancestors, piously preserved by the patricians, could not but keep the masculine severity of their models. Thus in the best times of the Republic, the famous sarcophagus of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, who was consul in 298 B.C., is of Etruscan manufacture, strongly Hellenised—as the Doric entablature, joined to the volutes of the Ionian order, testify. But this sarcophagus is distinguished from those found in Etruria itself, by the severe simplicity of its outlines, and its sober decoration.

The Greeks, who from the fifth century B.C. were attracted by the increasing glory of Rome, and who were summoned by the pomp and pride of the great men, were certainly not the best artists of their country. Their works have not survived; they were scorned, and disappeared at the time when men like Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, Flamininus, Æmilius Paulus, and Mummius, not to speak of those like Verres, crowded the city with the spoils of Tarentum, Corinth, and of all Greece. But it may be asserted that these ancient statues, just because they came from the hands of more obscure artists, received a Roman impress, just like the Etruscan

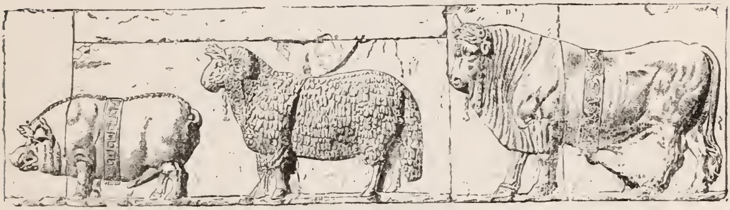


Fig. 176.—Sacrificial offerings (Forum, Rome).

statues. For even in the most flourishing times of the empires, when the arts of Greece were received with enthusiasm by the Romans,—an enthusiasm, sincere with some, with others artificial and servile,—the Greek sculptors who set their faces towards Rome, as the new artistic centre of the world, impressed upon their works, whether willingly or not, a style which is justly called Roman.

We cannot speak in detail of the themes which, naturally, were often adapted to the Roman religion. But this line of victims (fig. 176), this pig, ram, and bull,—this *suovetaurilia*,—their heads adorned with



Fig. 177.—Fortune (Naples Museum).

fillet-ribbons, their bodies bound with rich girdles, are marching with a pompous and pontifical gravity, which carries us far from the Greek processions, from the Panathenaic frieze, for instance, where the lowing cattle were crowding in confusion, quite unmindful of their brief dignity. Nor can we speak of the gods, whose Hellenic type was naturally modified at times, out of respect to the Roman beliefs. For instance, that beautiful and majestic statue of Fortune (fig. 177) is no longer the Greek Tyche,

with her graceful tendency to happy chance; she is the austere and wise Fortune, who fixed for ever the happy destinies of Rome, who, as her rudder indicates, directs human affairs, but reasonably. She is, besides, the really Roman goddess, who early assumed the name and attributes of the Egyptian Isis, the diadem, the hanging veil, and the horn of plenty, symbolical of riches.



Fig. 178.—Portrait of a Roman (Louvre).

Again, take, for instance, the so-called Germanicus of the Louvre (fig. 178), the work of Kleomenes the Athenian. The real name of this remarkable statue has long been disputed, and it is still undecided whether it is a dead man made demi-god, an ambassador, a Hermes, indicated by the tortoise to his left, or an orator, or merely a portrait. It really matters little. The statue shines with a scientific and accurate beauty; the purity of the outline, the frank nakedness, the sober perfection of the lines, all have a feeling of the ideal which betrays a Greek hand. But it is a Greek who has been greatly struck by the vigorous character of the Roman. The thick, short hair, the angular face, with marked



Fig. 179.—Augustus (Vatican).

features, do not belong to the Greek type—be it artist or voluptuary ; but rather, to the thinker, the reasoner, the man with Roman ambitions. So we conceive the great men of the Republic, a Scipio or an Æmilius Paulus. In the same way, the portrait of Augustus, known as the Augustus of the Vatican, found in 1863 at



Fig. 180.—Agrippina (Naples Museum).

Prima-Porta in the ruins of a villa of Livia (fig. 179), is idealised in a high degree, but the ideal is Roman. It is the deified prince, made greater, finer, and nobler by the imagination of the Romans. His superhuman stature, his form enlarged and strengthened by the heavy breastplate and ample draperies, his bare arms and legs, his noble gesture, above all the calm and haughty gravity

of his face, proclaim him a god. The work has the value of a portrait, and the still greater value of being a finished work of art. Everything about it is interesting, the inspiration of the sculptor, and the masterly ability of his execution, the majesty of the whole, and the finish of the detail, the prince's attitude, his truly august features, the small bas-reliefs on the breastplate, the dolphin and the little Love which recall his origin and history. The Augustus of the Vatican deserves a place apart from the confused and commonplace crowd of imperial statues, amongst which very few are deserving of attention. This, nevertheless, is the place to point out the Agrippina of the Naples Museum (fig. 180). Seated upon a chair, her feet stretched out upon a stool, her hands crossed upon her knees, her head slightly bent forward, with a hard, wicked expression upon her face, the mother of Nero appears as history shows her, more imperious than beautiful, absorbed in scheming crimes.



Fig. 181.—Portrait of a Roman.

As might be expected, it is especially in portraits that the Roman style is to be found; but this style is not always of the same ideal character. Many busts of

Romans survive, in which the sculptors have striven to get an absolute likeness, without any attempt to attenuate the faults of the faces. Sometimes, even, there is a distinct effort to emphasise typical ugliness. The three busts reproduced here are extremely interesting on this account. The first (fig. 181) was found in Kyrene. Some would ascribe this bronze to the school of Lysippos, actually dating it as far back as the third century before our era. But surely it is much more probably a Roman portrait of a far later era, as several characteristics of the execution prove—for instance, the hollow line which surrounds the lips. One divines resemblance without ever having seen the model, for all the features which gave to the face its original expression are carefully studied and soberly rendered: the prominent cheek-bones, the thick mouth, the scanty beard which grows so oddly. In the same way, the marble bust, found at the Farnesina Palace (fig. 182), is individual and very lifelike. In this portrait of a Roman lady, there is a frankness and sincerity about the elaboration of the hair, and about the eyes, the mouth, and especially the chin, and the suggestion of roundness in the cheeks, which is seldom to be found in the same degree in purely



Fig. 182.—Portrait of a Roman lady.

Greek works. As to the so-called Seneca of Naples (fig. 183), it can be described in one word—it is realistic. The sculptor has taken pleasure in displaying, in this old man's head, all that one would naturally wish to conceal. Here are the uncombed tufts of hair, the wrinkled brow, the sharp thin nose, the toothless mouth, the bristling beard, the neck whose flabby skin lies in folds and creases upon the straining nerves,—the uncouth aspect in all its details of the cynic philosopher. The realistic works of the finest eras of Greek art which have been quoted, lack this utterly Roman frankness. This study of Roman style need not be extended. It is certainly manifested very characteristically in works which are not portraits. But in the works of sculpture related to decoration or manufacture, in ornamental friezes, historical bas-reliefs which cover the triumphal arches and columns, in the bas-reliefs of sarcophagi, in familiar or mythical scenes—this style, far from producing anything beautiful or novel, is only the style of the Decadence. With the exception of a few happily inspired friezes, or graceful pieces of foliage like those in fig. 184, all the ornamental sculpture of the Romans errs by way of heaviness of motive or laziness of execution. Too much richness is hurtful,

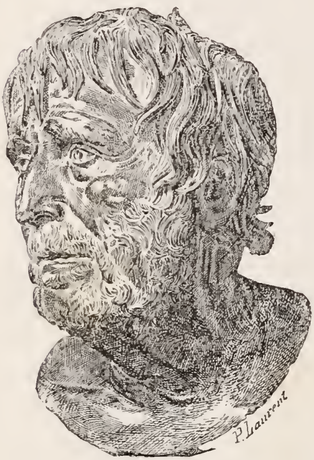


Fig. 183.—Pseudo-Seneca (Naples Museum).



Fig. 184.—Fragment of a Roman frieze (Lateran Museum).

especially in art; and the extravagant tastes of the

Romans had a very grievous influence upon their architecture. The historical bas-reliefs of Trajan's column (fig. 185), of the column of Antoninus, of the arches of Septimus Severus or of Marcus Aurelius, which attempt to represent on a level surface designs and groups of figures arranged in rows, one above the



Fig. 185.—Bas-relief of Trajan's column (Rome).

other, trenching upon the domain of painting, take us, by a rapid and fatal descent, to the barbarities of the arch of Constantine (fourth century A.D.). They have no artistic value, just as the bas-reliefs of the sarcophagi—the work of vulgar hands—have only a religious value. Drawing, modelling, and perspective, every-

thing is clumsy and inaccurate; the traditions of Greek bas-relief, slight and simple, so well aware of its capacities, so sure of its effects, are lost for ever. There is no longer any Greek art, nor any Roman;—the Middle Ages are beginning.

Before closing, a hasty retrospective glance must be given to a group of works which have a peculiar place apart—pseudo-archaic works. It has often been remarked that, just as prolonged sublimity becomes tedious, so classic perfection, maintained by several generations of artists, becomes cold and monotonous. These men of marked talent, in an attempt to kindle their imagination by contact with more naïve and sincere works, become enamoured of archaism. But their scientific imitation refuses merely to reproduce exactly. The subjects and types borrowed from primitive artists seem to them unworthy of their tools, unless adorned by the refined qualities which distinguish works of art at the approach of the Decadence (fig. 187).

In Rome the pseudo-archaic, or as it may be conveniently termed, archaistic style, early found adherents. The word "archaistic" is used somewhat loosely, and usually as a term of reproach, and some distinction between the very various kinds of work included in this broad term is certainly necessary. The first class of archaistic works are of a very peculiar character. They consist of a small group of statues which are conveniently classified as belonging to the school of Pasiteles. Of Pasiteles himself no certain work is known. Pliny says he lived about the time of Pompey,

and notes that he wrote five volumes of art criticism. It is, perhaps, safe to conclude that his style was learned and correct; and, from the manner of his pupil Stephanos, it is clear that the whole tendency of the school was towards a sober, austere style, a marked reaction from the excesses of Pergamos, Tralles, and Rhodes. Of Stephanos a signed statue is extant, the well-known nude youth of the Villa Albani. This figure is no return to the early archaic style, but it has about it all that curious, almost intangible air of repression and restraint, and that consequent tinge of melancholy, already noted in connection with the work of the transitional period. It is remarkable that the Albani figure is repeated almost identically in the male statue of a group in the museum at Naples. A group by Menelaus, pupil of Stephanos, still remains in the Villa Ludovisi; it is usually, though no doubt incorrectly, called the Orestes and Electra. The archaism of this group is much less distinctly marked. With this school of Pasiteles may be associated such statues as the Esquiline Venus (in the palace of the Conservatori at Rome), the Running Girl of the Vatican, and many others, notably a beautiful lifesized bronze figure of Apollo in the Naples Museum.

The next class of archaistic works are those which, instead of drawing a subtle inspiration from the transitional period, simply and directly copy statues and bas-reliefs of earlier date. This was, no doubt, done partly with the hope of deceiving the ignorant, partly to gratify popular taste, which certainly, in the time of Hadrian, had a reaction towards archaic severity. Such works abound in modern museums. As an

instance may be cited the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Louvre, and probably also the head (fig. 186) of Zeus —known as the Jupiter Talleyrand. It is interesting to compare it with several of the genuine archaic heads of Olympia. In the Talleyrand head, the severely



Fig. 186.– Head of Zeus (Louvre).

mannered arrangement of the hair and beard, the crown of palm-leaves, the grave air, the correct nose and mouth, the scientific simplicity of execution, betray the hand of a clever and practised sculptor, but leave an impression of singular unreality and lifelessness.



Fig. 187.—Pseudo-archaic Artemis (Naples Museum).

The third class of archaistic works remains, a class of high interest and value, a class to our knowledge and appreciation of which recent discoveries of genuine archaic sculptures have added much: *i.e.* archaistic works which are honest and intentionally faithful copies of noted statues, for the most part cultus images in antiquity. Of these a very interesting instance is the well-known *archaistic* Artemis, in the Naples Museum. The statue, when it was first found in a small shrine in a Pompeian house, excited much attention. The drapery, pose, smile, were obviously archaic; the modelling of the flesh, cheeks, arms, feet, were thought to be too soft and round for archaic art. The archaic female figures of the Acropolis have taught us, however, that such modelling was quite within the compass of the artist just before the Persian war, and it is to that date that we must look for the original statue. Dr. Studniczka, by a long train of reasoning that cannot be detailed here, has most sagaciously and clearly shown that the Artemis of Naples is a careful copy, executed about the time of Augustus, of a famous statue made by two Naupactian artists, Menaichmos and Soidas, of Artemis Laphria, a statue which had been transplanted from its original home by Augustus, and was set up at Patræ, and there worshipped with due honours down to the time of Pausanias. The Naples statue, copy though it is, is every way worthy to be a cultus image. The pose, the regular, symmetrically folded draperies, the crimped hair, the vivid colour, the frozen smile, may possibly, to us, after a long study of the Acropolis statues, seem commonplace enough; but compared to the eastern heraldic

type of Artemis, the figure is full of life and charm. Its small size was usual at that date for temple statues.

Dr. Studniczka is right when he says that the work of classifying and identifying these copies of ancient images has only begun, and when it is complete a new chapter in the history of archaic types must needs be written.

THE END.

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